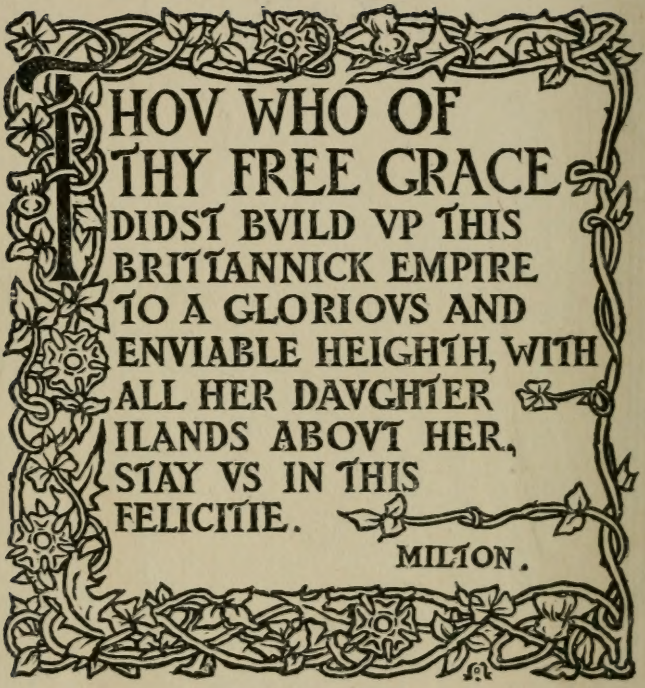
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SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES

HUGH E. EGERTON


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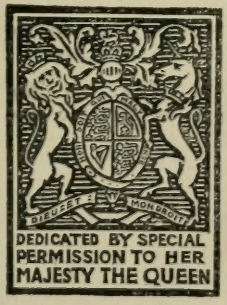
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SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES



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SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES

ENGLAND IN THE FAR EAST

BY

HUGH EDWARD EGERTON, M.A.

AUTHOR OF

'A SHORT HISTORY OF BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY'



NEW YORK

LONGMANS, GREEN & CO.

91 AND 93 FIFTH AVENUE

1900

PREFACE

TOWARDS the end of 1898 Mr H. F. Wilson, the Editor of this Series, who had undertaken the life of Sir Stamford Raffles, asked me, owing to the pressure of his official work at the Colonial Office, to assist him in this volume. Mr Wilson was sent out in February to South Africa to Sir Alfred Milner in a legal capacity; so that, unfortunately, it became clear that, unless the book was to be indefinitely postponed, Mr Wilson must abandon the task. In this state of things, the life was entrusted to me.

The present biography assuredly does not lack from want of material. The Records in the India Office relating to Sir Stamford Raffles would fill by themselves many goodly volumes. There is besides a fair amount of material published by Raffles. I have examined to the best of my ability a very great number of Papers at the India Office relating to Prince of

Wales's Island, Java, Bencoolen and Singapore, including those still in the Secret Department. In spite of past gleaners in the field, some of the material here quoted has not, I believe, been previously printed. I have to express my acknowledgments to the authorities of the India Office Library, and to Mr W. Foster, the Honorary Secretary of the Hakluyt Society, for assistance in this connection.

Through the kindness of the Rev. Canon Raffles Flint, of Ladock Rectory, son of the 'little Charley' of the burning of the *Fame*, I have had access to a very interesting collection of letters addressed to Mr W. Ramsay, Raffles's great friend, to his sister, Mrs Flint, and to the Duchess of Somerset. These letters were, of course, in the possession of Lady Raffles, but the stern view she took of the position of a biographer caused her to make sparing use of them except on certain occasions. To Canon Raffles Flint I am further indebted for the engraving which forms the frontispiece, for the loan of a volume of confidential letters to Lord Minto, dating from January to March 1812, and finally for some valuable notes on the acquisition of Singapore by Mr W. H. Read, C.M.G., late Dutch Consul at Singapore.

Mrs Stamford Raffles, the widow of the well-

known Liverpool stipendiary magistrate, has kindly allowed me to peruse the Reminiscences drawn up by her father-in-law, Dr Raffles, relating to his cousin, Sir Stamford. I have also to express my gratitude to the Rev. R. B. Raffles, a grandson of Dr Raffles, for access to the correspondence of Sir Stamford with Dr Raffles. These authorities will be found more fully drawn upon in the *Life of Sir Stamford Raffles* by Demetrius C. Boulger.

The Rev. R. B. Raffles, who contributed largely to the *Life* by Mr Boulger, still continues his interest in his celebrated relative. He has most kindly allowed me to inspect a mass of information which he has collected with regard to the scientific side of our hero's life. The standpoint of this book has not allowed me to make much use of this, but it is to be hoped that at some future date Mr Raffles will see his way to illustrate this branch of the subject. In addition, I have to thank Mr Raffles for some most valuable and helpful suggestions.

The Rev. J. R. Crawford has kindly furnished me with the copy of a paper relating to the survey of Singapore harbour by his grandfather, Captain Crawford.

Sir James Swettenham, K.C.M.G., most

kindly forwarded to Mr Wilson the instructions, quoted in Appendix II., and copies of several letters, including a letter to Colonel Addenbrooke on the acquisition of Singapore.

I have further to express our thanks to Lieutenant-General the Hon. Sir Andrew Clarke, R.E., G.C.M.G., for the use of an interesting paper on Raffles, read before the Royal Institution on May 27, 1898.

In the chapters on Java, I have got much help from the late Dutch historian Deventer's *Daendels—Raffles* (translated by G. G. Batten). It is a pity that this brilliant little book appears so little known to English readers. As the appearance of a new biography of Raffles, after the publication of Mr Boulger's complete *Life*, may need a word of apology, it may be pointed out that the very different scale of the present volume prevents any idea of competition. It may be added that the present volume was decided upon before the announcement of Mr Boulger's *Life*. I have to recognise my obligation to it for some statements of facts in the first two chapters and in Chapters VIII. and XIV. At the same time the new material here employed, and the independent use of the old material existing in the India Office, may, I trust, justify this book's existence,

especially when it is remembered that no Series of Builders of Greater Britain could be complete with the omission of the name of Raffles.

In conclusion, I have to express my sincere apologies for any shortcomings in this volume, due to the absence of the Editor in South Africa. The ordinary reader can hardly realise the amount of labour and time which the exercise of such editorial work involves. It is a cause of some anxiety to me that the present volume appears without the mainstay of this editorial support. Perhaps, however, those who recognise that in its way the work of empire-repairing is as necessary as the work of empire-building, and that it is in this work that Mr Wilson is engaged, will view with some indulgence this record of not the least among the Builders of Greater Britain.

HUGH E. EGERTON.

May, 1900.

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Sir Stamford Raffles

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST STEP ON THE LADDER (1781-1805)

Parentage and Early Years—Enters India House—Character—Assistant Secretary to Prince of Wales's Island Government—Marriage—Studies Malay Language.

THOMAS STAMFORD RAFFLES, to whom more than to politicians or treaties Great Britain owes her position in the Far East, was born on July 6, 1781. The time was one of gloom and humiliation, but the fault lay with statesmen and generals, and did not go to the roots of the national character, and so, even at the moment when the British Empire seemed approaching its end, there was room for new builders of Greater Britain to be born into the world.

Stamford's father, Benjamin Raffles, was a captain employed in the West India trade out of London. According to the custom of the day, Captain Raffles was accompanied by his wife, and thus our hero was born at sea on board the ship *Ann*, off the harbour of Morant, in Jamaica. Not very much appears to be known with regard to his father's family. For some generations it had been settled at Beverley, in Yorkshire, and the name frequently occurs in the old

registers. A Raffles was Mayor of Beverley in the reign of Elizabeth, and Sir Stamford claimed with pardonable pride a Sir Benjamin Raffles, created Knight Banneret 'about the time of James I. or James II.' It is perhaps sufficient for present purposes to note that Raffles came of a good north country stock, from a county the shrewdness of whose sons has become a byword among men.

Raffles was baptized on board ship, his godfathers, who appeared by proxy, being a Mr Bingley, of London, and a Mr Stamford, of Jamaica. On the return of the family to England, he was 're-baptized' (an altogether irregular proceeding) by the Rev. T. Lindeman, who had married his mother's sister, and on this occasion he was registered only under the name of Thomas. The name of Thomas was derived from his grandfather, who occupied for forty years a post as clerk in the Prerogative Office, Doctors' Commons. He died in 1784, when his grandson was only three years old. If little is known of the Raffles family, Sir Stamford's parentage on his mother's side has remained yet more obscure. Lady Raffles states in the *Memoir* that 'Mr Raffles was baptized at Eaton Bishop, in Herefordshire, whilst his mother was on a visit to her *brother*, the Rev. John Lindeman, who was at that time the incumbent of the living.' In fact, however, Mr Lindeman was brother-in-law to Mrs Raffles, and the maiden name of Raffles's mother was Lyde. More important, however, than even her name or pedigree was the fact that between mother and son there existed that close intimacy which is

found perhaps most often in the lives of the greatest men. The primary motive to efforts, which placed Raffles on the first step of the ladder which was to lead to greatness, was the desire to help his parents in their straitened circumstances. Of the early years of our hero no record remains. When we first hear of him he is at school at Hammersmith, under a Dr Anderson. He did not, however, remain at school more than about two years. Raffles throughout his life never ceased to lament the loss of a regular intellectual training. After his last return to England, when his life work had been in fact completed, we find him, more than half seriously, writing, 'Were I not a married man, I should be half inclined to study for a bachelor's degree, and to make up even at this time of life for the sad omissions of my youth, which I can never too deeply deplore. Hurried into public life before I was fifteen years of age, my education was sadly neglected, and in returning to the civilised world I feel like a Hottentot.'

Before Raffles had completed his fourteenth year, in 1795, he was admitted as an extra clerk in the India House. His pay in this position appears to have been a guinea a week. With Raffles, however, leaving school did not mean the abandonment of education. 'My leisure hours,' he writes, in the very interesting autobiographical letter to his cousin, Dr Raffles, first published in full by Mr Boulger, 'still continued to be devoted to favourite studies, and with the little aid which my allowances afforded, and which were not completely swallowed up by the wants of my family, I contrived

to make myself master of the French language, and to prosecute inquiries into some of the various departments of literature and science. This was, however, in stolen moments, either before the office hours in the morning or after them in the evening; and I shall never forget the mortification I felt when the penury of my family once induced my mother to complain of my extravagance in burning a candle in my room.' To make matters worse, it was not merely the daily wants of the family which had to be supplied. 'Long standing debts and a want of the means to prevent still further involvement caused me many a bitter moment.' Growing up in these surroundings, Raffles of necessity never knew the insouciance or selfish serenity of the ordinary schoolboy. From the first it was inevitably the case of an old head on young shoulders. If the boy is father to the man, the man, Sir Stamford, was bound to be the same strenuous, restless being whose spirit, in its constant demands, was to tire out the body by the time it had reached ordinary middle-age.

Meanwhile virtue was rewarded, and in 1800 a vacancy occurring in the establishment, Raffles's 'peculiar qualifications for once set aside the pretensions of those who were supported by the usual patronage.' Not content, however, with his ordinary duties and with the task of conducting his own education, he found time to undertake extra work, for which he received gratuities of from £20 to £30 a year. No wonder that under this strain the body began to show danger signals. His constitution was

naturally delicate. As, however, he appears for the time to have been completely restored to health, under the drastic treatment of a walking tour in Wales, averaging thirty to forty miles a day, it may be inferred that 'the seeds of consumption,' of which we read, had not gone very far. It is pleasant to picture the eager youth in this rare interval of holiday. He was always singularly susceptible to the charm of natural scenery. 'A mountain scene,' his widow notes, 'would bring tears into his eyes; a flower would call forth a burst of favourite poetry.' As a schoolboy his garden had been his delight. Pleasures, as a rule, are the most intense when they are the least diffused in time and manner, and the charm of a mountain tour could best be felt by one, who on his last return to England could say that he had never seen a horse race and never fired a gun. Doubtless, moreover, other thoughts were beginning to visit young Raffles. The following description of himself, written to an intimate associate of his early years, just after the landing at Java, in a moment of expansion, throws a welcome light on the man's real nature. 'You always said I was a strange, wild fellow, insatiable in ambition, though meek as a maiden; and perhaps there was more truth than otherwise in what you said; but with all, I will assure you this, that although, from want of self-confidence and from natural shamefacedness (for I will not call it modesty or bashfulness), I am as unhappy at times as any poor wretch need be, I have times in which I am as happy as I think it possible for man to be.'

In 1802 Raffles's salary was fixed at £70 per annum, nor could his extra labour make it in all more than £100. The opportunity, however, which is said to come to all who wait for it was close at hand, and in 1805 came the appointment which was to direct the course of his future life.

The island of Penang had been acquired from the Rajah of Quedah for the East India Company in 1786 by Captain Light. In 1805 it was decided to constitute it a regular Presidency, with a Governor and Council, a measure which involved the expenditure of over £43,000 a year in salaries. The Governor selected for the post was Mr Philip Dundas, who was to receive over £9000 a year. Mr John Oliphant was appointed first member of Council, and Mr Pearson Secretary. At the same time Raffles was appointed Assistant Secretary, at a salary of £1500 a year, and the rank of junior merchant in the East India Company's service. That Raffles obtained at the early age of under twenty-four a post which was doubtless sought by many was due to one whose name must always be held in honour by our hero's admirers. Mr William Ramsay had been the Secretary of the East India Company at the time of Raffles entering the office as an extra clerk. He had observed and prized the boy's capacity and zeal. He does not appear to have known the circumstances of the Raffles's family, a natural shame causing Stamford to keep them in the background. Apart altogether from those circumstances, it was natural that he should recommend the claims of one, who, although not yet twenty-four years old, had done nearly

ten years of hard work in the office. In urging the claims of Raffles to Sir Hugh Inglis, the Chairman of the Company, Mr Ramsay said that 'in parting with so useful an assistant in his department, he should suffer the greatest inconvenience,' and that 'it would be like the loss of a limb to him.' Kindness done to Raffles was never seed cast on rocky ground, and we find him in 1812 writing of 'the admiration and respect' with which he looked up to one 'who to me was more than a parent.'

Although from the first Raffles had been compelled to take life seriously, it would be to form an altogether wrong view of him to suppose him absorbed by his studies or ambition. By nature he was singularly sociable, and in after life we are again and again told how he found time to combine with the severest work the relaxations of society. He had already formed a warm friendship with young Ramsay, the son of the Secretary, and his subsequent letters to him strike a note of genuine affection seldom found in the letters of man to man. Hitherto society, except that of his family and intimates, had not come into his way, but now that his material means allowed, it was natural that a youth of sociable nature, about to be separated from his family and home surroundings, should take to himself a wife. It will be found as a general rule that men sociably inclined, but who have not the opportunity to gratify their love of society, marry young. To those in earnest all roads lead to Rome, and so the dull precincts of Leadenhall Street were able to furnish Raffles with a wife in the person of

Mrs Fancourt, the widow of an assistant surgeon on the Madras establishment, who came in the autumn of 1804 as an applicant for the widow's pension to which she had become entitled. It is unnecessary here to dwell on idle gossip, which has been sufficiently disposed of by Mr Boulger. Doubtless the action of Lady Raffles in relegating all mention of her predecessor to a footnote, itself inaccurate, suggested mystery where no mystery was. Happily it has been clearly proved from Sir Stamford's own mouth that he married for love, and that he was well rewarded in so doing. It is true that his wife was his senior by ten years, but, as we have seen, he was in every way old for his age, so that the argument of the Duke in *Twelfth Night* against such marriages does not apply. The marriage, as Sir Stamford wrote, 'gave me no new connections, no wealth, but, on the contrary, a load of debt which I had to clear off. It increased my difficulties and thus increased my energies. It gave me domestic enjoyment and thus contributed to my happiness, but in no way can my advancement in life be accounted owing to that connection. . . . When I was about to quit all other ties and affections it was natural that I should secure one bosom friend, one companion on my journey who would soothe the adverse blasts of misfortune and gladden the sunshine of prosperity—but what have the public to do with this?' We have not, however, to depend upon Raffles alone for an estimate of his first wife. Her portrait as she appeared to ordinary acquaintances has been drawn in the

fascinating *Letters from India* of Lord Minto. 'Mrs Raffles is the great lady with dark eyes, lively manner, accomplished and clever.' The words of poets are not always to be taken literally, but perhaps Dr John Leyden, of whom we shall hear more in the next chapter, was more eminent for himself than for his poetry, and it was thus that he addressed her :—

> 'Still may'st thou live in bliss secure,
> Beneath that friend's protecting care,
> And may his cherished life endure,
> Long, long, thy holy love to share!'

But most striking of all is the account given by the Malay Abdulla, a translation of whose reminiscences, *Hakayit Abdulla*, was published in 1874.

'She was not an ordinary woman, but was in every respect coequal with her husband's position and responsibilities ; behaving herself with propriety, politeness and good grace. She was very fond of studying the Malay language, saying, "What is this in Malay —and what that?" Also whatever she saw she wrote down, and, whatever her husband intended to undertake, or when buying anything, he always deferred to her. Thus, if it pleased his wife, it pleased him. Further, her alacrity in all work was apparent ; indeed she never rested for a moment, but she was always busy day after day. . . . I never saw her sleep at midday or even reclining for the sake of ease. . . . Thus her habits were active ; so much so, that in fact, she did the duty of her husband ; indeed it was she that taught him. Thus God had matched

them as king and counsellor, or as a ring with its jewels.'

Having thus obtained for wife a virtuous woman whose 'price is far above rubies,' Raffles did not forget the claims upon him of his own family. He arranged that his eldest sister, Mary Anne, should accompany him to the East, and so soon as his salary began he made his father and mother partakers of his improved fortunes. His father, who died in 1812, was thereby enabled to spend his last years in peace, while his mother, who survived her husband another twelve years, was secured in comfort and independence.

The enforced leisure of the voyage, lasting from April to September 1805, was put to good use by Raffles in acquiring a knowledge of the Malay language. Captain Travers, who first met him in 1806, writes :—'At this time, which was soon after his arrival, he had acquired a perfect knowledge of the Malay language, which he had studied on the voyage out, and was able to speak and write fluently.' It was in every way most fortunate that our hero's capacity for work included a remarkable facility in learning languages. To teach oneself French seems a rather hopeless undertaking, yet the story is well attested how, when a lady was singing one of Moore's Melodies, Raffles translated the English into French verse for the benefit of some Frenchmen present, and yet he had had little opportunity since his boyhood of continuing his French studies. Further light on the

extent of his early efforts after intellectual improvement is thrown by the letter of 1819 already quoted. 'Before I left England in 1805, I had occasionally assisted in some periodical publications, and a plan was formed, of which I was to take a conspicuous part, for continuing the *Asiatic Annual Register* on an enlarged and improved principle. The plan fell to the ground in consequence of my quitting England.' It is true that from one point of view Raffles's words were probably right, and that the deficiency of his early education was never fully supplied. His great merit will remain that he was 'a lover and admirer of all that he could reach in literature and science.'[1] His contemporaries—witness the language of W. Marsden, who describes him at his death as 'well known to the literary and scientific world'—thus ignoring his claim to political greatness—persisted in exalting this side of him at the expense, somewhat, of his claims to eminence as a builder of the Empire. Wiser himself, he recognised that his chief claim in the world of science was to have fostered and encouraged the pursuits of others; to have been a scientific Mæcenas at a time when few colonial administrators cared for such things.

Be this as it may, the study of the Malay language by Raffles was to have consequences reaching far beyond his reputation as a savant. It was to be the means whereby a better understanding of, and thus a closer sympathy with, the native mind should be gained, and a new spirit be breathed into the relations

[1] But see note on p. 255.

between English and natives. It speaks well for the strength and sobriety of his character that a young man emerging from penury to what must have appeared affluence, who had just taken to himself a charming and devoted wife, should have recognised at once so clearly and fitted himself so laboriously for the needs of his new position.

CHAPTER II

EMBARKS UPON 'POLITICAL RESEARCHES' (1805-10)

Life at Penang—Leyden—Visits Malacca—Minute on Proposed Abandonment—Its Success—Appointed Secretary—Question of Increased Salary.

PENANG, or Prince of Wales's Island, the scene of Raffles's new duties, is an island about fifteen miles in length, and about nine miles in breadth, covering an area of one hundred and eight square miles. The new Presidency also included Province Wellesley, a narrow strip extending for some forty-five miles along the coast of the Malay Peninsula. For many years Penang enjoyed a reputation as a health resort which it scarcely deserved. In this 'paradise' it was solemnly affirmed 'the operation of the climate is almost infallible.' The experience of its Government tells a very different tale. The 'operation' of the climate led to the death of three governors and of a large proportion of the new staff. Still, whatever the disappointments Penang had in store, nothing could deprive it of the loveliness which is attested by all who have seen it. Lying 'in the sunlight and the sea,' it must have forthwith appealed to that love of natural scenery which was so leading a feature in our hero's nature. The diary of his future

friend and aide-de-camp, Captain Travers, gives a vivid picture of the energy with which he threw himself into his new life :—

'It was in the year 1806 that I first became acquainted with Mr Raffles at the island of Penang. He was then Deputy-Secretary to the new Government, which had been recently sent out to that place. . . . The details of the Government proceedings, so far as related to local arrangements and regulations, together with the compilation of almost every public document, devolved on Mr Raffles, who possessed great quickness and facility in conducting and arranging the forms of a new government, as well as in drawing up and keeping the records.

'The public despatches were also entrusted to him ; and, in fact, he had the entire weight and trouble attendant on the formation of a new government. This, however, did not prevent his attending closely to improve himself in the Eastern languages ; and whilst his mornings were employed in his public office, where at first he had but little assistance, his evenings were devoted to Eastern literature. Few men, but those who were immediately on the spot at the time, can form any idea of the difficult task he had to perform in conducting the public business of such a government as existed on the first establishment of Penang as a Presidency. It would be irrelevant here to allude to, or to attempt any description of, the different characters of whom this Government was formed, the more particularly so as

they are all now dead, but it is due to Mr Raffles to state that he was respected and consulted by every member of it. In his official capacity he gave most general satisfaction, whilst the settlers looked up to him for advice and assistance in every difficulty; and when he afterwards became Chief Secretary, the most general satisfaction was evinced throughout the settlement.

'Being of a cheerful, lively disposition, and very fond of society, it was surprising how he was able to entertain so hospitably as he did, and yet labour so much as he was known to do at the time, not only in his official capacity, but in acquiring a general knowledge of the history, government and local interests of the neighbouring states; and this he was greatly aided in doing by conversing freely with the natives, who were constantly visiting Penang at this period, many of whom were often found to be sensible, intelligent men, and greatly pleased to find a person holding Mr Raffles's situation able and anxious to converse with them in their own language.'

Of one thing laid to its charge it would seem that Prince of Wales's Island must stand acquitted. From the light thrown on the situation by Raffles's correspondence with his intimate friend, young Ramsay, we learn that the leave of absence obtained in August 1806 by Mr Pearson, the Secretary, was due as much to 'not drawing well with the Hon. the Governor' as to reasons of health. 'I have, in fact,' writes Raffles in January 1807, 'done nearly the whole

duty of Secretary and Deputy since I have been on the island, but for the last four months I have done so to the knowledge of every person and publicly. . . . I am now acting Malay Translator, but under similar circumstances as I am acting Secretary, with all the honour and labour but no emolument. . . . I would almost do the duty for nothing, because it is what I have so forcibly set my mind upon.' The strain of work, however, was great. 'There is about three times the business in the Secretary's office as there is in England, and not one-twentieth of the assistance. . . . Scarce a letter has gone out, however trifling, that I have not drafted, and I have not one right-hand man.'

As time passes his letters begin to strike a more melancholy note. At first he had stood 'on the best footing possible with the present Government. They leave everything to me that I wish, and are satisfied with my conduct'; but soon the jealousies, which are the curse of small communities, began to show themselves. Raffles, although the real motive force of the Government, had not the rank or status which a seat in the Council could alone confer, and he suffered much from the overbearing demeanour of men who could thus revenge on him their recognised inferiority. 'A Secretary,' Raffles wrote in November 1808, 'is in general the organ, but in some places the very soul. I am neither the one nor the other. We have not abilities to admit of my being the former, nor liberality to allow the latter. You may therefore guess the situation. . . .

The arrogance that a temporary exaltation has given to some is scarce to be borne with except *by such a patient body as me*.'

More serious reasons for anxiety were not wanting. Raffles began to recognise that he could not go on indefinitely working at such high pressure. 'My health is not altogether what it was, and I dread a constant fag for years' (October 1807). He therefore longed for the promise of a seat in the Council. 'A rest in the Council Chamber, about three or four years hence, will enable me afterwards to get on, and the prospect of it beforehand will serve to keep up my spirits.' In the preceding summer he had written, 'I think five years Secretary as much as I can stand.' Unhappily, instead of work diminishing, it tended to increase. In 1807 a new Charter of Justice was proclaimed in Prince of Wales's Island, and a Recorder, Sir Edward Stanley, entered upon his duties. On his arrival 'all was confusion here, and that Court could not have been established had not I come forward and voluntarily acted as Registrar Clerk of the Crown,' etc. (November 1808). 'War was brewing,' he adds, 'between Sir E. Stanley and the Government. Stepping between them judiciously, I am confident that I stopped a breach which might never afterwards have been filled up.'

Be this as it may, Raffles was very nearly bringing his own career to a close. In 1808 he broke down under the strain of over-exertion, and all but died of jaundice and a diseased liver. 'This is the second

attack,' he writes in November 1808. 'I must beware of the third.'

Out of evil, however, proceeded good, and the visit of Raffles to Malacca, in the search of health, proved to be a new starting-point in his public career. It is true that he had been ordered by the doctors to drop altogether his study of the native languages, but this gave him the more inclination to appear upon the political stage. 'Political researches,' he writes, 'are most required, and with the view of seeing how such would be received I have thrown off a report on Malacca. . . . You know I am always famous for possessing public spirit. I have not lost one spark of it.' In order to understand why the report of an obscure civil servant obtained so ready a hearing it is necessary to go back a little in time.

Towards the close of 1805 there appeared at Penang a visitor whose friendship was to have an important influence over Raffles's fortunes. Mention has already been made of the verses which John Leyden addressed to Olivia Raffles, but the man, as sometimes happens, was in himself greater than can be recognised in his rather conventional verse. 'Few can need to be reminded that this extraordinary man, born in a shepherd's cottage, in one of the wildest valleys of Roxburghshire, and of course almost entirely self-educated, had, before he attained his nineteenth year, confounded the doctors of Edinburgh by the portentous mass of his acquisitions in almost every department of learning. He had set the extremest penury at utter defiance, or rather he had never been

conscious that it could operate as a bar ; for bread and water and access to books and lectures comprised all within the bound of his wishes, and thus he toiled and battled at the gates of science after science, until his unconquerable perseverance carried everything before it ; and yet with this monastic abstemiousness and iron hardness of will, perplexing those about him by manners and habits in which it was hard to say whether the moss trooper or the scholar of former days most prevailed, he was at heart a poet.' The man who could draw such language from the critical Lockhart must have been no ordinary man. Disappointed in his expectations of obtaining preferment in the clerical profession, he had accepted an offer of an Assistant Surgeonship under the East India Company. He landed in India in 1803, and soon found ample scope for his great abilities. The stress of work as surgeon and naturalist to the Commission, which surveyed Mysore, occasioned the need of the holiday which brought him to Penang. During this stay he made good use of his time by a careful study of the language, manners and religion of the Malay race. It may easily be imagined how congenial to Raffles was such companionship. Leyden's manners were uncourtly. He was given to usurping the conversation. His voice was loud and strident, had little or no modulation, and smacked of the provincial dialect of his native heather. Of his own merit he had the highest opinion, but such opinion might be forgiven to one who deserved so much. In any case these were not faults to frighten the eager young

student, upon whose studies the doctors had not yet pronounced their veto. It is pleasant to note that Raffles's esteem was fully reciprocated. If it was true that 'in his judgment of men, and his value of their society and acquaintance' Leyden 'was guided solely by their moral and intellectual worth,' it is high praise for Raffles that he was numbered at once amongst Leyden's most intimate friends.

At the time of this visit Leyden had been a seeker after fortune as was Raffles, but in the following year an event occurred which made him a political personage. The arrival of a Governor-General, who was an Elliot of Teviotdale, who loved scholarship and genuineness, and knew a man when he saw one, was the turning-point in Leyden's fortunes. In the different posts to which he was promoted he had the ear of Lord Minto, and was of course mindful of his old friend. Hence when Raffles expressed his views regarding Malacca, it was secured that they should receive an attentive consideration from the highest authority, and not be tossed aside in the pressure of daily work.

Malacca, one of the earliest and the most important emporia of eastern trade, had been captured by the Dutch from the Portuguese in 1641. It was taken by the English under Major Brown in 1795. It was part of the scheme under which Penang was raised into a separate Presidency that Malacca should be abandoned. The intention was gradually to transfer to Prince of Wales's Island the trade and capital of Malacca, together with the most valuable part of the

population. Meanwhile the fort was to be demolished, a measure which was carried out in the course of 1807. ('A most useless piece of gratuitous mischief, as far as I can understand the subject.'—Lord Minto.) The quick eye of Raffles promptly discovered how hopeless must be any attempt to divert to Prince of Wales's Island the trade and population of Malacca. His very able minute on the subject marks his first appearance upon the scene of imperial as opposed to local politics. More than three-fourths of a population of some twenty thousand, he points out, had been born in Malacca, where their families had been settled for centuries. 'The Malays, a class of people not generally valued as subjects, are here industrious and useful members of society; attached to the place from their birth, they are accustomed to the local regulations; and in the bosom of their family feel that they are at home. Their peculiarities are attended to, their rank respected, and their necessities easily supplied. . . . From the antiquity and former celebrity of the place it follows that the country is well cultivated, and that valuable buildings, public and private, have been erected by the inhabitants. . . . The prejudices of the natives are too well known to require comment here; and it is no common advantage that will induce them to quit the tombs of their ancestors, their temples sacred to the Deity, their independence, and estates on which they depend for their livelihood and respectability. The inhabitants of Malacca are very different from what they appear to have been considered. Three-fourths of the native population or

Prince of Wales's Island might, with little encouragement, be induced to remove, having no fixed or permanent property; adventurers, ready to turn their hands to any employment. But the case is very different with the native inhabitants of Malacca. . . . The inhabitants that remain are mostly proprietors of property or connected with those that are; and those possessing independence from their gardens, fishing, and the small traffic of the place. . . . From every appearance it seems they have determined to remain by Malacca, let its fate be what it will. . . . The offer made by Government of paying the passage of such as would embark for Penang was not accepted by a single individual. . . . The natives consider the British faith as pledged for their protection. When the settlement fell into the hands of the English, they were invited to remain; protection and even encouragement were offered them. The latter has long ago ceased, and they are in daily expectation of losing the former. For our protection they are willing to make great sacrifices; and they pay the heavy duties imposed on them, with the cheerfulness of faithful and obedient subjects. The revenues of Malacca are never in arrear.' Supposing the removal to be carried through, it would be necessary to pay some 500,000 dollars as compensation to the European inhabitants, but, admitting that this were granted and the population actually removed, 'what check could be placed over emigration?' He then entered upon an elaborate examination of the Bugguese or Eastern trade, and demonstrated that

by its nature 'it is apparent that if the duties of Malacca were lowered to the standard of Penang, very few prows would proceed further up the Straits; and that the portion now stopping at Malacca is not of a description to be forced further on but . . . would either cease altogether, or attain its object at a less advantage, at the native ports of Rhio or of the Dutch at Java.' Upon the whole the conclusion arrived at was that 'it is now a trade almost exclusively belonging to Malacca from its natural advantages.'

More important interests even than those of trade were, however, at stake. 'Malacca, having been in the possession of a European power for three centuries, and even previously to that period considered as the capital of the Malay States, has obtained so great an importance in the eyes of the native princes, that they are ever anxious to obtain the friendship of the nation in whose hands it may be. Its name carries more weight to a Malay ear than any new settlement, whatever its importance.' Malacca, in the hands of a native prince, would be another, but more dangerous, Rhio. But would it remain in the hands of a native prince? Its 'possession will ever be a most desirable object to a European power and to our enemy. . . . It is well known that the Dutch Government had it in contemplation to make Malacca a free port, with the view of destroying the English settlement at Penang.' 'The public works,' he added, 'may be demolished, the principal buildings levelled with the earth from which they sprung, but Malacca, in its facilities for

trade, its extent of cultivation, its permanent style of native buildings, must remain the same. Fortifications can in a short time be destroyed by the *fiat* of man, but who shall direct the forests to reassume their former extent, or the country of Malacca at once to become an impenetrable forest and unhealthy swamp? The industry of ages has been too effectually and too successfully exerted to be effaced with common trouble. Time and the exterminating sword alone will ever be able to reduce it to its original state; and, when it is so reduced, it will always be an object of importance to our European enemy, as well on account of its superior advantages in trade and produce, as of its capability of annoying and effectually destroying the English interests at Penang.' During the continuance of the war the present arrangements were of a temporary character, but should it be decided, on the conclusion of peace, to retain Malacca, and to make it a British settlement, its real advantages would be seen. 'Ceded to the English, its rivalship with Penang would cease. No longer the oppressor and oppressed, they would mutually assist each other. The revenues of Malacca would immediately increase, while the Dutch law might be abolished by proclamation from His Majesty, and the jurisdiction of the Court at Prince of Wales's Island with ease extended in its room.' Again: 'With the assistance of Malacca, the whole of the Malay Rajahs in the Straits and to the eastward might be rendered not only subservient, but, if necessary, tributary.'

The most careless reader will recognise in these

extracts a ring not often found in official utterances. Here was a subordinate official of twenty-seven years old meddling with what did not directly concern him, but who spoke as one having authority, however respectful and modest the form of his language. What might have been the fate of the Report at another time is doubtful, but fortunately Lord Minto was Governor-General and Leyden in a position of influence and authority. The paper was duly submitted by the Penang authorities with a covering letter of warm approval, but Raffles appears to have sent another copy direct to Leyden for the perusal of Lord Minto, and Leyden wrote (October 9, 1809) :— 'I laid before him without delay the MSS. concerning Malacca, with which he was greatly pleased, and desired me to say he should be gratified in receiving immediately from yourself any communications respecting the Eastern parts of a similar nature.'

Already, in the previous year, Lord Minto had said, 'The Malay language has been successfully cultivated by Mr Raffles . . . who, much to his honour, has long been employed in compiling a code of . . . Malay laws from the best authorities in the Malay and Bugguese languages.' In these circumstances, the Report was sure of a careful consideration ; its weighty arguments convinced not only the Governor-General, but also the Court of Directors. 'We have also,' the Court of Directors wrote in November 1809, 'perused with much attention the Report prepared by your Secretary, Mr Raffles. . . .

This document has in so comprehensive a manner laid open to our view the present circumstances of the settlement of Malacca, and the dangers which may arise by the total abandonment of it, that we agree as a temporary measure to the continuance of the present establishment there.'

Raffles had been wise in his generation in the manner in which he had touched the financial side of the question. The Court of Directors agreed 'the more readily, as we find that the charges, including every possible contingency, are fully provided for by the revenues of the place.' The paragraph concluded with a cordial recognition of Raffles's services couched in official phraseology—'We desire that you will communicate to that gentleman that we entertain a favourable sense of the talents he has evinced upon that occasion.'

It was the peculiar excellence of Raffles that he succeeded in fusing, to the benefit of both, the claims of practical politics and theoretical science. Just as at a later date his choice of Singapore as a British station was based on the traditions of its past history,[1] so study as well as observation had assisted his conclusions with regard to the retention of Malacca. It was thus natural enough that, at the same time as he was forwarding his Report on Malacca, he should submit to the Calcutta Asiatic Society a paper on the Malay nation, with a translation of its maritime institutions.

[1] It does not matter in this connection that Raffles may have been uncritical in his acceptance as fact of pure tradition.

In this he maintained that the Malay nation was one people, speaking one language, though spread over so wide a space, and preserving their character and customs in all the maritime states lying between the Sulu Seas and the Southern Ocean, and bounded longitudinally by Sumatra and the western side of New Guinea. 'The most natural theory on the origin of the Malays' was 'that they did not exist as a separate and distinct nation until the arrival of the Arabians in the Eastern seas.' They appeared 'to have been gradually formed a nation and separated from their original stock by the admixture of Arab blood and the introduction of the Arabic language and Moslem religion.'

While he was thus usefully employing this period of enforced leisure, observing and mixing with the varied population congregated from all parts of the Archipelago, 'a ship arrived at Malacca from Penang, bringing intelligence of her having left a vessel in the harbour about to proceed to England. Mr Raffles, knowing the necessity of sending despatches by the first opportunity, and well aware that in his absence the Government would find great difficulty in preparing them, determined on proceeding there without delay, although strongly urged to remain whilst his health was so fast improving; but it was impossible to dissuade him from what he thought to be a public duty.' He therefore chartered a pleasure-boat, and in this small craft 'he reached Penang in good time to relieve Government from a weight of care and anxiety, which, I believe, was freely acknowledged at the time.'

That Raffles did not unduly magnify his own importance is shown by the amazingly urgent letter which meanwhile had been addressed to him by Governor Macalister. 'It is distressing to me, my dear sir, to be under the necessity of stating in this pointed manner the unavoidable exigence of the case, but such is the case that we shall not be able to make up any despatches for the Court without your assistance. . . . With the exception of Mr Phillips, the rest of the Board can give but little assistance in making out the general letter, none, however, so little as myself.'

Considering the questions of high policy which were at the time occupying him, and the opportunities which he was enjoying of pursuing his favourite studies, Raffles's hasty return to the dull routine of his ordinary duties testifies more than pages of panegyric what manner of man he was.

Meanwhile, in treating of the visit to Malacca, we have broken the thread of the narrative as it concerns Prince of Wales's Island. Mr Oliphant, the senior member of Council, and Mr Dundas, the Governor, had died in the months of March and April 1807. Mr Pearson, who had returned from his leave of absence, obtained the vacant seat in the Council, and Raffles was appointed Secretary, in name as well as in fact, with an increased salary. About the same time he was appointed Agent for the Navy. The new Governor, Macalister, wrote to the Directors 'of the unwearied zeal and assiduity with which he has, since the formation of the establishment,

devoted his talents to the furtherance of the Company's interests, his unremitting attention to the duties of the most laborious office under the Government, added to those of Registrar of the Recorder's Court.' In fact, the zeal of the Penang Government on Raffles's behalf was to cause him considerable trouble and inconvenience. It was decided (1807) to re-adjust salaries so that the Secretary should receive an additional £600, or £2600 in all, while the Assistant Secretary should only receive £900. 'The allowance granted . . . to the assistants when these offices were bestowed upon experienced persons selected from your service in England, to whom a superior rank has been attached, not appearing to us to apply to the case of the young men sent out as writers on this establishment.' The Court of Directors had no objection to the reduction of the Assistant Secretary's salary, but highly disapproved of the increase in the pay of the Secretary. They could not admit that 'because the salary of one office will bear reduction, another is therefore to be increased in a proportionate degree.' Considering the drain which Prince of Wales's Island involved upon the resources of the East India Company, and how little had come of the high hopes upon which it had been started, there was nothing unreasonable in the decision of the Directors. What does seem unreasonable is that the decision was conveyed in a letter dated April 28, 1809, more than a year after they had received news of the alteration. In this letter they ordered that 'Mr Raffles be called upon to refund the amount which he may have

received over and above the sum of $8000 per annum.'

At the time of the receipt of this order Raffles had already been paid £1625 additional salary, so that the command to refund came as a bombshell. Although the salary of £2000 may seem ample for a young man, it must be remembered that the cost of living at Penang was proverbially high. Mr Boulger quotes a letter to the effect that 'a dollar does not go as far as a rupee in the other Presidencies.' House rent was an especially heavy item, and Raffles paid £300 per annum for his house 'Runnymede.' Moreover, in considering Raffles's means, it must be remembered how heavy were the claims on him of his own family. As early as January 1807 we find him sending home £400 to meet the outstanding liabilities. His eldest sister, Mary Anne, who had accompanied him to Penang, married shortly after her arrival a Mr Quintin Dick, the holder of a good appointment. Mr Dick, however, died suddenly in 1809, so that the widow and three children were dependent upon Raffles until she married again in 1811. In 1810 the family circle had been enlarged by the arrival of his younger sisters Harriet and Leonora. It was the number of these claims which doubtless led Raffles to remark that he was poorer now than three months before he left England.

Be this as it may, few in Raffles's position could have immediately repaid the £1600 thus abruptly demanded of him. In a dignified and convincing letter (February 1810) he pointed out, 'Had the

arrangement been expressed or understood to have been in any way provisional or conditional, or had it been made in consequence of any representation or effected by any act of my own, I should, of course, have held myself liable to refund what the Honourable Court might disapprove of, but in receiving what was voluntarily authorised by your Hon. Board, I felt that I might justly avail myself of its advantages in discharging the heavy incumbrances which necessarily devolved on me in my first establishment in this country, and in aiding such parts of my family as stood in need of my support and assistance ; and at this moment most solemnly do I assure your Honourable Board of my total inability to comply with the unexpected and heavy demands now made nearly three years subsequent to my appointment. The circumstance of the office devolving on me at the time, without the aid of an experienced assistant, of which my predecessors had the advantage, added to the serious illnesses under which I have laboured, brought on chiefly from close attention to duty and a constant anxiety to benefit the public service as far as lay in my power, will, I hope, meet with your favourable consideration.'

The Prince of Wales's Island Government zealously espoused Raffles's cause. In the special circumstances of the case, they decided to postpone the carrying out of the Directors' order until they had again written home. In a covering letter they warmly supported Raffles's appeal. At the time no decision was arrived at by the Court of Directors, and it was not till 1817, on our hero's return to England after his

government or Java, that the Court of Directors finally waived their claim to this £1625.

Meanwhile, even before this anxiety was added, Raffles had been seriously perturbed by the fear lest he should break down under the strain of his present work. In a letter already quoted (November 1808), he says, 'I am convinced my health will never permit of my holding this office many years. If, therefore, I am not to look for a seat in Council, or some quiet place in the Government, I must either fall a sacrifice or apply for the first vacancy in the collectorship or other subordinate office. My constitution was always delicate; with care I have no doubt it could last as long here as in England, without it it will soon break up. The fatigue,' he adds, 'of merely writing this letter gives me excruciating pain. . . . I am afraid they will work the willing horse to death; all I ask is to see the end of it.'

CHAPTER III

AGENT TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL WITH THE MALAY STATES (1810-11)

Political Situation—Capture of Moluccas—Suggested as Governor —Visits Calcutta—Lord Minto—Headquarters, Malacca—Abdulla—Reports from Malacca—Java Expedition.

VALUABLE as were the services of Raffles in Prince of Wales's Island, they did not differ in kind from such as are daily being performed by many Indian Civil servants unknown to fame. Physical reasons prevented Penang from ever taking the leading position intended for it under the scheme of the East India Company. It was therefore desirable that Raffles should obtain a more commanding stage on which to play his part. The annexation by the French Republic of the Dutch colonies threatened seriously to alter the situation in the East. The Dutch had been rigid monopolists, and Englishmen, in the East especially, had no cause to love the nation which had been guilty of the massacre at Amboyna. Nevertheless the political weakness of Holland forbade that its colonies should be a menace to the British possessions. But when Holland became an annexe of France, the situation was completely altered. The battle of the

Nile scotched but did not kill Napoleon's aspirations for Asiatic dominion. The part that might be played by Java in opposing British interests had been recognised as early as 1797 by General Daendels, but the naval strength of England in European waters had prevented the Dutch from active operations. After the resumption of hostilities which followed the Treaty of Amiens, Marshal Daendels was sent out in 1807 to Java to reorganise the Dutch colonial forces, and to strengthen the defences of the island. Meanwhile the Isle of France and Bourbon had been fortified with additional troops, so that it became necessary for the English to take the initiative unless they were to be forestalled. The Whig Ministry of 1806 had been favourable to such undertakings, but the financial situation of the Company barred the way, and, on the return of Lord Castlereagh to power, Lord Minto considered himself bound by a positive prohibition of any expedition to Java or other place eastward of India made by that Minister when previously in office.

The British fleet did not, however, remain idle, and the destruction of four Dutch men-of-war at the close of 1807 was followed by the unpremeditated capture of the Moluccas.

'The Governor-General,' Raffles states, 'refused to take charge of these islands on account of the Company, and the naval commander hardly felt himself warranted in establishing a King's Government, but, as the decision was left with him, he proposed to the Governor-General, who was then

at Madras, that I should be nominated to the charge, and a provisional administration established pending a reference to Europe. Lord Minto immediately replied that I was not unknown to him, that he was perfectly satisfied of my fitness and claims, and that he would immediately appoint me if the Admiral would undertake that I should accept the office; for it occurred to Lord Minto that, being a family man, and of high pretensions, I might be unwilling to sacrifice a certainty for an uncertainty. My advancement at Prince of Wales's Island was secure, but the Moluccas were only a war dependency, and it was not known what measures regarding them might be taken by the Government at home. The Admiral did not like to take the responsibility, and the arrangement dropped on an understanding that my assent was alone wanting; but as the Governor-General was about to return to Bengal, he would, of course, feel himself at perfect liberty to bestow the office on another, should an immediate arrangement or the claims of others require an early attention.'

As soon as Raffles received from the Admiral news of the possible opening which lay for him in the Moluccas, he formed the determination to visit Calcutta. 'My attention had long been directed to the state of the Dutch possessions to the eastward; and as rumours were afloat of a projected armament going against the Isle of France, it occurred to me that the information I possessed respecting Java might be useful, and possibly turn the attention of

our Government in that direction. I accordingly left my family, and proceeded to Calcutta in a small and frail vessel—the only one which offered, but in which my future prospects had well-nigh perished. This was in the month of June 1810.[1] On my arrival in Bengal I met with the kindest reception from Lord Minto. I found that though the appointment to the Moluccas had not actually taken place, it was promised to another. I, in consequence, relinquished all idea of it, and at once drew his Lordship's attention to Java by observing that there were other islands worthy of his Lordship's consideration besides the Moluccas—Java, for instance. On the mention of Java his Lordship cast a look of such scrutiny, anticipation and kindness upon me that I shall never forget. "Yes," said he, "Java is an interesting island. I shall be happy to receive any information you can give me concerning it." This was enough to encourage me, and from this moment all my views, all my plans and all my mind were devoted to create such an interest regarding Java as should lead to its annexation to our Eastern Empire; although I confess that I never had the vanity to expect that, when this object was accomplished, so important an administration would have been entrusted to my individual charge; that I should be entrusted with what Mr Marsden emphatically observes was as great a charge as a nation could entrust to an individual.'

It must be frankly admitted that in thus writing

[1] The original states 1811—an obvious error.

Raffles was misled as to his own share in the undertaking of the conquest of Java. The idea of such a conquest was of course no new thing. The fact that it had been previously expressly forbidden proves that it was already the subject of discussion. There is a very lucid despatch by Lord Minto, dated October 11, 1811, wherein he shows that the military proceedings against Bourbon, the Isle of France, and Java were each part of a connected whole. Among the India Office records are elaborate reports on the subject of an attack upon Java, drawn up by the British Resident at Fort Marlborough long before Raffles's visit to Calcutta. But if Raffles did not initiate the expedition, at least he secured its prompt and ready success by means of the zeal and ability with which he obtained the necessary information. Moreover, the success of his administration of the island has given a tenfold importance to the story of its conquest.

Lord Minto was a good judge of men, and he was able to provide Raffles with an employment in which his best qualities had ample display. He was appointed Agent to the Governor-General with the Malay States 'as an avant courier, and to prepare the way for the expedition.' The date of his commission was October 19, 1810, and in the following December he arrived at Malacca, which he had himself selected as his headquarters. It is to this period that the description of him refers which was afterwards written by his Malay secretary, Abdulla.

'When I first saw Mr Raffles, he struck me as being of middle stature, neither too short nor too tall. His brow was broad, the sign of large-heartedness; his head betokened his good understanding; his hair, being fair, betokened courage; his ears, being large, betokened quick hearing; his eyebrows were thick, and his left eye squinted a little; his nose was high; his cheeks a little hollow; his lips narrow, the sign of oratory and persuasiveness; his mouth was wide; his neck was long; and the colour of his body was not purely white; his breast was well-formed, his waist slender, his legs to proportion, and he walked with a slight stoop.'

More interesting is the account of his mode of life. 'Now I observed his habit was to be always in deep thought. He was most courteous in his intercourse with all men. He always had a sweet expression towards European as well as native gentlemen. He was extremely affable and liberal, always commanding one's best attention. He spoke in smiles. He also was an earnest inquirer into past history, and he gave up nothing till he had probed it to the bottom. He loved most to sit in quietude, when he did nothing else but write or read; and it was his usage, when he was either studying or speaking, that he would see no one till he had finished. He had a time set apart for each duty, nor would he mingle one with another. Further, in the evenings, after tea, he would take ink, pen and paper, after the candles had been lighted, reclining with closed eyes in a manner that I often took to be sleep; but in an instant he would be

up and write for a while till he went to recline again. Thus he would pass the night, till twelve or one, before he retired to sleep. This was his daily practice. On the next morning he would go to what he had written, and read it while walking backwards and forwards, when, out of ten sheets, probably he would give only three or four to his copying-clerk to enter into the books, and the others he would tear up. Such was his daily habit.'

Abdulla gives a striking picture of the many-sidedness of our hero's intellectual interests. Men were employed in collecting plants, insects, shells, birds and nests for him. 'Many people profited from going to search for the living creatures that exist in the sky and the earth, sea or land.' He 'took great interest in looking into the origin of nations and their manners and customs of olden times, examining what would elucidate the same. . . . At that time the histories stored up in Malacca were nearly exhausted, being sold by the people; and what were only to be borrowed, these he had copied.' Abdulla notes the fondness for animals of which we hear so much in later years. The Rajah of Sambas had sent a present of a *Mawas* or ourang-outang, 'so he put trousers on the *Mawas*, with coat and hat complete, which made it as like a little man as possible, and he let it go, when it soon became apparent that its habits were those of mankind, the only fault being that it could not speak.'

In reading the account of the way in which Raffles spent his money it ceases to be a matter for wonder that he never felt well off. Few have realised better,

though on a small scale, the quality of μεγαλοπρέπεια, as described by Aristotle, but the 'magnificent' do not lay up stores for their posterity.

One more salient feature Abdulla notes. 'I also perceived that he hated the habit of the Dutch . . . of running down the Malays, and they detested him in return; so much so that they would not sit down beside him. But Mr Raffles loved always to be on good terms with the Malays—the poorest could speak to him.' What was the object of Raffles's visit no one exactly knew, but 'it was plain to me that in all his sayings and doings there was the intelligence of a rising man, together with acuteness. And if my experience be not at fault, there was not his superior in this world in skill or largeness of heart.'

Meanwhile the political objects of the mission were being well fulfilled. In exhaustive reports to Lord Minto, Raffles sketched the main features of a policy to be applied to the islands. In ancient times the Malay chiefs, though in full authority within their own territories, had all held of a suzerain who was King of the ancient and powerful state of Majohapit in Java, and had the title of Bitora. Raffles proposed that the Malay chiefs should be persuaded to invest the Governor-General with the ancient title of Bitora. A general right of superintendence and interference would thus be given, which might be limited by treaty, so as to remove any occasion of suspicion from the native powers. In the districts directly occupied by the English a line of policy should be adopted directly contrary to the policy of the Dutch. That policy

had been to depress the native Malay inhabitants, and to favour the Chinese. Raffles considered that the Chinese were draining and exhausting the country for the benefit of China. But if danger arose from the industrious Chinese, the lazy Arab traders were a yet greater evil. They were concerned very frequently in acts of piracy, and were great promoters of the slave trade. The remedy was to encourage the native Malays and to regulate on equal terms the duties of the Malay and other Eastern ports. The commercial policy advocated by Raffles was suggested by the facts of the situation. Under the Dutch orders all persons had been prohibited *under pain of death* from trading in the four fine kinds of spices, unless such spices had been first bought from the Company. The Dutch genius had never been able to discover that in the long run it must be more profitable to make smaller profits on a larger capital than larger profits on a smaller capital. Their policy had been to put out one eye in order to strengthen the sight of the other. An artificial monopoly had been kept up by the prohibition of natural products and by the wanton destruction of crops. But while protesting against such iniquities, Raffles recognised that some features of the Dutch policy should be retained. One feature of that policy had been to exclude all foreigners, whether native or European, from all trade, except at certain specified ports. This policy was as much connected with the political government of the country as with the commercial profits of the Company. 'Against the policy

of establishing certain determinate and regular ports as emporiums of trade, it does not appear to me that there is any valid objection to be stated; and I therefore submit this measure to your Lordship's consideration as the most effectual method of preventing the Eastern Islands from being overrun by a multitude of unprincipled adventurers—chiefly Chinese, Arabian and American—whose presence in these countries will neither tend to strengthen the interest of the British nation nor to ameliorate the condition of the natives.'

With regard to the natives, the policy of the Dutch had been to encourage dissensions between the various chiefs. The policy of the English should be to support legitimate authority by their influence, and gradually to subject the private quarrels of headmen to a general system of established law. The rudiments of such a system were to be found in the *Undang Undang*, or the traditional codes current in the various states. It was proposed that every Malay chief should be requested to furnish a copy of such *Undang Undang*, and to send one or two learned men to a congress which might be appointed for the purpose of revising the general system of Malay law. No measures of improvement, however, could do much unless the evils of piracy and domestic slavery were first removed. Piracy had been the natural growth of the physical circumstances and national habits of the Malay people, and it could now only be extirpated by an adequate naval force. Kidnapping by pirates was a main source of slavery, together with the penalties enacted in the Malay law respecting

debts and sundry misdemeanours. Slavery, Raffles asserted, had been abolished in 1805 through British India by Lord Wellesley, and Lord Minto, by his order of June 4, 1811, emancipating the Government slaves at Malacca, had given the Malay natives an earnest of his views on the subject. With regard to the more remote political future, Raffles faced the possibility that Java might not be permanently retained. In any case sound policy dictated the forming of the most intimate connections, by treaty, with such of the native peoples as had indisputable pretensions to independence. 'By fixing ourselves in Banca, Bali, Celebes and Jelolo, we shall have a chain of posts which would prevent the enemy entirely from attaining very formidable power, or deriving his former advantage from the possession of Java and the Moluccas; and by forming a settlement in Borneo, connected with the interior of that country, so fertile and so rich in the precious metals, we shall soon be in a position to compete with them on equal terms.' Not without reason, in closing his report, he congratulated Lord Minto 'on the most splendid prospect which any administration has beheld since the first acquisition of India; the pacification of India completed, the tranquillity and prosperity of our Eastern possessions secured, the total expulsion of the European enemy from the Eastern seas, and the justice, humanity and moderation of the British Government, as much exemplified in fostering and leading on new races of subjects and allies in the career of improvement,

as the undaunted courage and resolution of British soldiers in rescuing them from oppression.' While occupied, however, with large schemes of general policy, Raffles was none the less mindful of the immediate business in hand. Communications were at once entered into with several of the principal chieftains in Java in the Malay and Javanese languages. 'Further letters in these languages were forwarded to the eastward by every opportunity that offered.' Friendly relations were established with the Rajahs of Bali and Lombok, whence ample provisions could be obtained for an army invading Java. Attempts were made to enlist on the British side the Bantam chiefs, who were nominally subject to the Dutch; while at the same time a proclamation was issued in the Dutch language endeavouring to induce the Dutch colonists to side with the English against their French masters.

In one instance, according to Abdulla, Raffles was deceived by his native agents. A Malay had been despatched, along with a Javanese nobleman, with letters to the Sultan of Mataram. They returned with an answer, in which the Sultan agreed to assist from the landward on the arrival of the English. The terms of the letter excited Raffles's suspicions. He kept taking it in his hands only to lay it down again. At last he recognised that the paper was of exactly the same sample as that in his own press. He sent at once for the unhappy Javanese, and extorted from him a reluctant confession. The envoys had been prevented by the monsoon, and

had never, in fact, landed in Java. 'When Mr Raffles heard all this he scratched his ears and stamped his feet with rage, and with a blank face told him to go below to wait there, and to look at Mr Raffles you would take him as one under great trouble, without ceasing, for on that day it was intended to get his effects on board ship, it being the day for sailing.' Raffles had placed great hopes on the results of this mission, and to be thus fooled, in the presence of Lord Minto, was indeed hard. According to Abdulla, Raffles threatened to blow the Malay from a cannon's mouth at sea. Abdulla shrewdly suspects that the threat was made with the intention of the wretched man making his escape, as he did, by which means an unpleasant subject need not be recalled. From the manner in which the story is told it is clear that such a failure on the part of Raffles's diplomacy was altogether exceptional. The information supplied by him with regard to the number and position of the enemy's forces proved singularly accurate. He recommended the stationing of ships of war on the south coast of Java, to prevent supplies of either men or arms being introduced by the French from that quarter. Raffles also urged the importance of the British troops being cautioned as to their behaviour while in the island. 'As the connection of the British with the Malay States has been always the subject of the greatest anxiety and jealousy to the Dutch, it may be suspected that they have not given to the Malays and Javanese a more favourable idea of the English than they have given

of the Malays. It must be admitted that we are going to commence our operations in Java with the majority of our troops, whether European or native, entertaining the most unfavourable ideas of the Malay character. These sentiments in the minds of our soldiers will not naturally tend to induce a line of conduct, on their part, calculated to convey to the natives of Java any strong impressions either of our justice or humanity.' In a similar spirit he had warned Lord Minto of the bad impression caused by the presence off Batavia of British ships. A universal alarm had been excited in the minds of the natives. 'As few of the Eastern nations are at all acquainted with the English language, and almost as few of the officers of H.M.'s navy are able to communicate directly with the natives in the Malay language, the danger of not being able to make themselves understood always appears very formidable to the natives, and there is reason to suppose that in various instances it has led to consequences of the most fatal kind.'

Raffles was one of the first Englishmen to form a just estimate of the Japanese character. Although under the mismanagement of the Dutch, the trade with Japan, of which they possessed the monopoly, had sunk well nigh to zero, being limited to ten ships a year from Batavia, it was of the utmost importance that Great Britain should inherit the Dutch privileges to serve as a foundation on which to build. Upon the whole it may be safely affirmed that had Raffles died at the age of thirty, his reports

from Malacca alone would have secured him a place among the most foreseeing of British public servants.

Meanwhile Lord Minto had determined himself to accompany the Java Expedition. The flutter caused by this decision in the official dovecots is amusingly described in a letter of Leyden. 'All are utterly confounded by his Lordship's resolution, of which nobody had the slightest suspicion; and so completely were they all taken aback that nobody volunteered for service till the whole arrangements were settled. Indeed more than the half are as yet thunderstruck, and are very far from believing that he has any real intention of visiting Java. "No," say they, "to go and take such a little paltry place would not be decorous; no, no, there must be an insurrection breaking out again at Madras." The selection of your humble servant is another very ominous circumstance, and I daresay has deterred a great many smart bucks from coming forward. The civilians of the Joint Committee have already discovered me to be a very devil incarnate, and the greatest mischief maker in the land. They will be very glad to see the back seams of *my* hose at all events. I volunteered, of course, as soon as his Lordship signified his desire of having me with him, to come off directly to join you; but he told me that he should prefer to have me directly at his elbow. You may be sure no possible delay but will be avoided when I am of the party. We go first to Madras to see the whole force off from that quarter. The Bengal force will be shipped directly. In the *Modeste*

go with his Lordship from Madras to Malacca, Mr Seton, the present Resident of Delhi, who goes to be Governor of Penang—he is an excellent character; Mr Elliot; Captain Taylor; Mr Gordon, surgeon to the Body Guard; Mr Hope, whom you saw when he came from the Mauritius when you were here, and your humble servant. Pray be most particular in your military enquiries against the time of our arrival, and be able to tell where the disposable force is stationed, for that will be of main utility. I have secured Greigh to be under your command, and that is giving you a fine fellow in every sense of the word, active and alert, and brother-in-law of Lord Rollo besides, and you owe not me but a good many for the circumstance.'

In February 1811, Lord Minto had written to Raffles acquainting him with his intention to proceed in person 'at least to Malacca, and eventually, I may say probably, to Java.' His main motive for accompanying the expedition was that he might personally confer with Raffles. Lord Minto added: 'I must tell you in confidence that I have received the sanction of Government at home for this expedition, but that the views of the Directors do not go beyond the expulsion or reduction of the Dutch power, the destruction of the fortifications, the distribution of their arms and stores to the natives, and the evacuation of the island by our own troops. I conclude, however, that the destructive and calamitous consequences of this plan to so ancient and populous a European colony, the property and lives

of which must fall a sacrifice to the vindictive sway of the Malay chiefs, if transferred suddenly and defenceless to their dominion, have not been fully contemplated; and I have already stated my reasons for considering a modification of their orders as indispensable.' Dr Leyden wrote that Lord Minto was 'still fluctuating between the two old plans of keeping the country or rendering it independent'; but probably Lord Minto, like other strong men, did not always let others know what was passing within him. He was careful, however, to let Raffles know the opinion he held of him. 'It is proposed,' he writes, 'to style you Secretary to the Governor-General when we come together; for then your character of Agent will naturally merge. Secretary is the highest office below the Council, and was lately held by Mr Edmonstone at Madras. I hope you do not doubt the *prospective* interest I have always taken, and do not cease to take, in your personal views and welfare. I have not spoken distinctly on that subject, only because it has been from circumstances impossible for me to pledge myself to the fulfilment of my own wishes, and, I may add, intentions, if practicable. The *best* is, in truth, still subject to one contingency, the origin of which is earlier than my acquaintance with you; but I am happy to say that I do not expect an obstacle to my very strong desire upon this point; and if it should occur, the utmost will be done to make the *best attainable situation* worthy of your services and of the high esteem I profess with the greatest sincerity for your person.'

CHAPTER IV

THE CONQUEST OF JAVA (1811)

The Voyage — Military Operations — Appointed Lieutenant-Governor—Lord Minto's Decision as to Retention.

Lord Minto arrived at Penang, April 18, 1811, and at Malacca on May 9, following. We have a pleasant picture of the good Governor-General burning the implements of torture and causing the old dungeons to be razed to the ground. The need for haste was pressing, as the south-east monsoon was every day increasing in violence and rendering the passage to Java more and more uncertain. The alternative of two routes presented itself—first, the direct route along the south-west coast of Borneo; secondly, the passage round the north and east coast of Borneo, through the Straits of Macassar. By means of the services of Mr Greigh, 'peculiarly suited,' in Lord Minto's words, 'as well as his ship, to many useful purposes,' and by inquiries among the best-informed of the Eastern traders, Raffles established the feasibility of the South-West Passage. He 'did not hesitate to stake his reputation on the success which would attend the expedition if the route he pointed out should be followed.' Lord Minto gave practical

proof of his trust in Raffles, by choosing the route he advised against the unanimous opinion of the naval authorities. He embarked on H.M.S. *Modeste*, commanded by his son, Captain George Elliot, on June 18, 1811, and in less than six weeks after leaving Malacca the fleet, consisting of upwards of ninety sail, was in sight of Batavia without accident to a single vessel. Lord Minto humorously describes the way in which the cautious Commodore Broughton took care that the *Modeste* should lead the way, and have the post of danger. In Lord Minto's words, 'The expectations which had been formed were verified in every part of the passage, and everything turned out precisely as had been foretold and proposed with the exception of finding less difficulty than had been looked for, and the voyage proving shorter than could have been hoped. . . . I have been the more particular in detailing these circumstances, because this expedition must have been abandoned for the present year (an earlier departure than actually took place from India having been totally impracticable) if I had yielded to the predicted difficulties of the passage.' It was at the moment of the first landing upon Java, when the weight of anxiety which had for weeks oppressed him was removed, and his star seemed clearly in the ascendant, that Raffles wrote the letter to Mr Ramsay already quoted, in which he described himself as sometimes 'as happy as I think it possible for man to be.' 'It is one of these life-inspiring moments,' he continues, 'that I now purpose passing with you

à la distance . . . of the importance of this conquest, the views that naturally present themselves on such an occasion, and the share I have had in bringing the important point so near a conclusion, I need not speak. You have the opportunity of seeing the government proceedings which will be sufficiently satisfactory. . . . I wish very much to hear what is said of my political ideas respecting the government of the Eastward. . . . I will write you more fully after we are settled. Conquer we must.'

The troops, consisting of about 9000 men, landed on August 4 at Chillinching, in Batavia Bay. The General in command was Sir Samuel Auchmuty, of whose 'talents, judgment, and, above all, character,' Lord Minto had formed the highest opinion when known to him only through his correspondence. Happily the prediction was in every way fulfilled, that 'it is impossible that anything can disturb the harmony of this important service so far as he and I are concerned.' Proclamations were at once issued addressed to the Dutch and native inhabitants. The Dutch were reminded that 'the extinction of their metropolis has left the colonies of Holland to their own free judgment.' They were therefore urged to side with 'the champion and defender of Europe' against 'the common enemy of all nations.' The natives were informed that the English came as friends, but 'as they have not entered the Eastern seas for purposes of ruin and destruction, but solely with the desire of securing to the Eastern nations the enjoyment of their ancient laws and institutions, and

of protecting everyone from violence, oppression and injustice, the inhabitants themselves must be aware that they cannot recommend themselves to such a government by means of massacres and commotions. The English Government accordingly require that the native inhabitants remain for the present the peaceable spectators of what is about to take place, and that they on no account act oppressively, or take up arms against the French or Dutch, except when expressly called upon to do so by an English officer. All supplies will be paid for at full value, but you are not to supply the enemy, and you are also to impede the progress of the enemy's army from one part of the country to the other. The port of Batavia is open to all native traders. All prows and vessels bringing provisions and merchandise will be kindly received and protected by the English ships of war.'

Advancing with part of his army, General Auchmuty found that the road to Batavia was not disputed by the enemy, and that the only obstacle to his progress was the destruction of the bridge over the River Aujal. On the 8th the troops occupied the suburbs of the city, and a temporary bridge was constructed capable of supporting light artillery. On the same day 'the burghers of Batavia applied for protection, and surrendered the city without opposition, the garrison having retreated to Weltevreeden.' The General's report continues: 'The possession of Batavia was of the utmost importance. Though large storehouses of public property were burnt by the enemy previous to their retreat, and every effort

made to destroy the remainder, we were fortunate in preserving some valuable granaries and other stores. The city, although abandoned by the principal inhabitants, was filled with an industrious race of people, who will be particularly useful to the army. Provisions were in abundance, and an easy communication preserved with the fleet.' The leading inhabitants had been compelled to accompany the French General, and the Dutch left in the town were glad of protection against expected riots on the part of the Malays. Very early on the 10th Colonel Gillespie advanced towards the enemy's cantonment at Weltevreeden. 'The cantonment was abandoned, but the enemy were in force a little beyond it, and about two miles in advance of their works at Cornelis. Their position was strong, and defended by an abbatis, occupied by 3000 of their best troops and four guns of horse artillery. Colonel Gillespie attacked it with spirit and judgment, and, after an obstinate resistance, carried it at the point of the bayonet, completely routed their force, and took their guns. A strong column from these troops advanced to their support, but our line being arrived they were instantly pursued, and driven under shelter of their batteries. In this affair, so creditable to Colonel Gillespie . . . our loss was trifling compared with the enemy's, which may be estimated at about 500 men. . . . Though we had hitherto been successful beyond my most sanguine expectations, our further progress became extremely difficult and somewhat doubtful. The enemy, greatly superior in

numbers, was strongly entrenched . . . seven redoubts and many batteries, mounted with heavy cannon, occupied the most commanding grounds within the lines. The fort of Cornelis was in the centre, and the whole of the works were defended by a numerous and well-organised artillery. The season was too far advanced, the heat too violent, and our numbers insufficient to admit of regular approaches. To carry the works by assault was the alternative, and on that I decided. In aid of this measure I directed some batteries to disable the principal redoubts, and for two days kept up a heavy fire from twenty eighteens, and eight mortars and howitzers. Their execution was great, and I had the pleasure to find that though answered at the commencement of each day by a far more numerous artillery, we daily silenced their nearest batteries, considerably disturbed every part of their position, and were evidently superior in our fire.

'At dawn of day on the 26th the assault was made. The principal attack was entrusted to that gallant and experienced officer Colonel Gillespie. . . . The enemy was under arms and prepared for the combat, and General Janssens, the Commander-in-Chief, was in the redoubt when it commenced. Colonel Gillespie, after a long action through a close and intricate country, came on their advance, routed it in an instant, and, with a rapidity never surpassed, and under a heavy fire of grape and musketry, possessed himself of the advanced redoubt. He passed the bridge with the fugitives under a

tremendous fire, and assaulted and carried with the bayonet the redoubt, after a most obstinate resistance. Here the two divisions of this column separated. Colonel Gibbs turned to the right, and with the 59th and part of the 78th, who had now forced their way in front, carried the redoubt. A tremendous explosion of the magazine of this work took place at the instant of its capture, and destroyed a number of gallant officers and men, who at the moment were crowded on its ramparts, which the enemy had abandoned. The redoubt, against which Lieutenant-Colonel M'Cleod's attack was directed, was carried in as gallant a style; and I lament to state that most valiant and experienced officer fell at the moment of victory. The front of the position was now open, and the troops rushed in from every quarter.

'During the operations of the night, Colonel Gillespie pursued his advantage to the left, carrying the enemy's redoubts towards the rear. . . . A sharp fire of musketry was now kept up by a strong body of the enemy, who had taken post in the lines in front of Fort Cornelis, but were soon driven from thence, the fort taken, and the enemy completely dispersed. They were pursued by Colonel Gillespie with the 14th Regiment, a party of sepoys, and the seamen from the batteries under Captain Sayer of the Royal Navy; by this time the cavalry and horse artillery had effected a passage through the lines, the former commanded by Major Travers, and the latter by Captain Noble; and, with the gallant

Colonel at their head, the pursuit was continued till the whole of the enemy's army was killed, taken or dispersed. . . . I have the honour to enclose a return of the loss sustained . . . sincerely I lament its extent; and the many valuable and able officers that have unfortunately fallen; but when the prepared state of the enemy, their numbers, and the strength of their positions are considered, I trust it will not be deemed heavier than might be expected. Theirs has greatly exceeded it; in the action of the 26th the numbers killed were immense, but it has been impossible to form any accurate statements of the amount. About 1000 have been buried in the works, multitudes were cut down in the retreat, the rivers are choked up with the dead, and the huts and woods were filled with wounded, who have since expired. We have taken nearly 5000 prisoners, among whom are 3 general officers, 34 field officers, 90 captains, and 150 subaltern officers. General Janssens made his escape with difficulty during the action, and reached Buitenzorg with a few cavalry, the sole remains of an army of 10,000 men. This place he has since evacuated, and fled to the eastward. A detachment of our troops is in possession of it. The superior discipline and invincible courage which has so highly distinguished the British army was never more fully displayed; and I have the heartfelt pleasure to add that they have not been clouded by any acts of insubordination.'

Not daring to remain at Buitenzorg, the Dutch Governor had fled with a fragment of his forces to

Samarang. Although Janssens had been present at the battle of Cornelis, the command of the troops had been held by the French General Jumelle. Janssens, at most, could only postpone the evil day, and, Samarang being captured by the English, he signed on September 18 the formal capitulation. The general rejoicing was damped by the death of Leyden. The tradition goes that he had been the first to leap upon the shore of Java. 'He pushed his exertions of every kind far beyond his strength, and was totally regardless of the precautions against the sun.' He went heated from a public library into a room which had not been opened for a long time, and was struck by a mortal chill. He had been ailing for some time, and fell an easy victim to the first attack. In him Raffles lost a most loyal friend and fellow-worker, whose place was very partially filled by the somewhat pompous and self-centred Mr Marsden.

At the date of the capitulation Raffles had already been for one week Lieutenant-Governor of Java. His commission was issued on September 11, the same day on which was published the Proclamation which was to direct the course of the new government. It has been already seen that Lord Minto hinted of prior claims which might stand in the way of our hero's appointment. Happily, the obstacle, whatever it was, was removed, and Lord Minto was able to appoint Raffles 'as an acknowledgment of the services he had rendered, and in consideration of his peculiar fitness for the office.'

Lord Minto justified himself against a possible

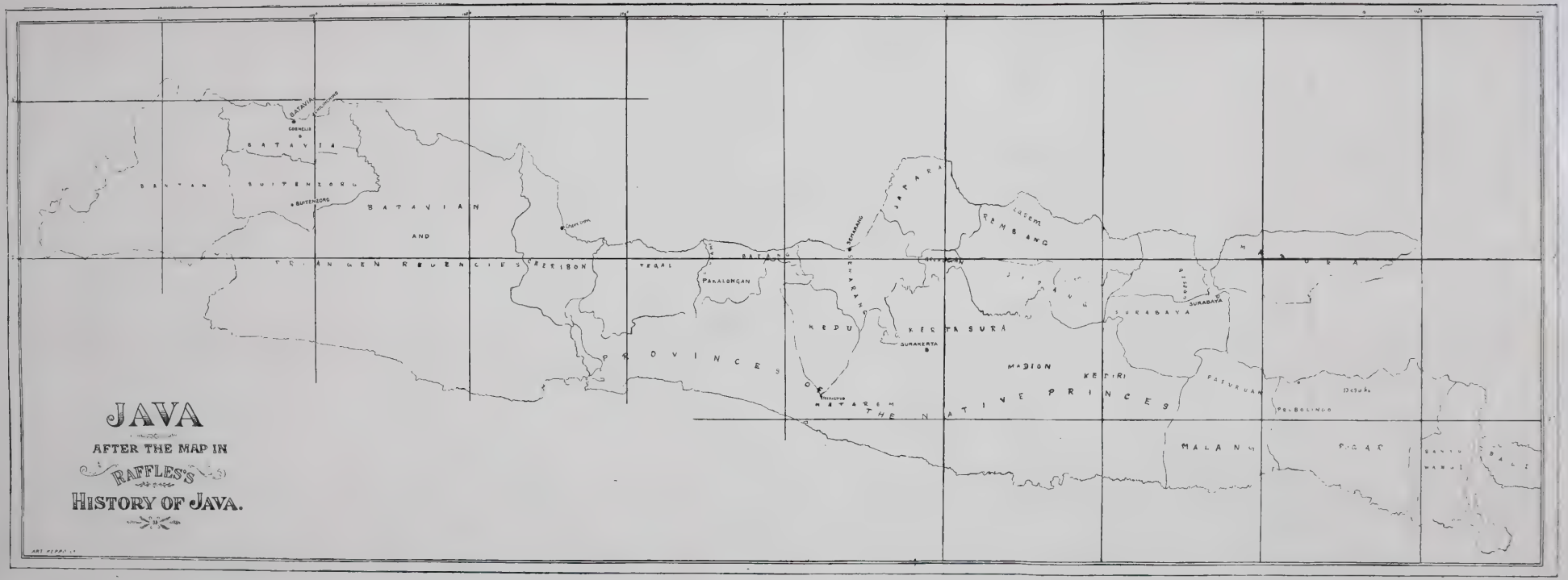
charge of disobedience to the orders of the Company by emphasising the consequences which blind obedience would have entailed. 'It would have been an abuse of the word obedience, and offensive, above all, to the authority from which the order had been issued under a defect of local information to have carried into effect a command, of which the consequences described were manifest on the spot to those who were charged with the execution.' To withdraw the whole European population, and to make a provision for their support, 'would have required pecuniary sacrifices and arrangements which could have been hazarded by no subordinate authority abroad.' For the time Lord Minto's arguments convinced. Nevertheless, he would seem to have gauged better than did the sanguine Raffles the real temper of their London masters. There is a note of disquiet in the words which Lord Minto used on the eve of his departure from Java—words which Raffles liked to recall, and which bore good fruit in his measures—'While we are here, let us do as much good as we can.'

CHAPTER V

THE GOVERNMENT OF JAVA (1811-16)

The Dutch *Regime*—Difficulties of Situation—Lord Minto's Proclamation—Visits Courts of Souracarta and Djocjocarta—Fiscal Regulations—Amended System in the Administration of Justice—Palembang Expedition—Visits Samarang—Settlement with Native Princes—Lord Minto's Approval.

THUS, at the early age of thirty, Raffles found himself the ruler of the 'other India.' Of the great beauty and of the great potential wealth of the country there could be no question. But there were considerations which might have given a less sanguine man food for thought. Whatever were its real resources, the financial position of Java at the time of the conquest was bad in the extreme. Perhaps as a nation we are somewhat inclined to pharisaical thanksgivings on our superiority to our neighbours. But from any point of view, the contrast between the histories of the English and of the Dutch East India Companies is striking. Both were trading companies compelled by the irresistible trend of events to assume territorial sovereignty. But while the English Company, in spite of mistakes and failures, must


JAVA
AFTER THE MAP IN
RAFFLES'S
HISTORY OF JAVA.
BATAVIA
BATAVIA
BANTAM
BUITENZORG
BATAVIAN
AND
PRIANGEN REGENCIES
CHERIBON
TEGAL
PEKALONGAN
SEMARANG
JAPARA
REMBANG
Lasem
SOERABAYA
SURABAYA
SURAKERTA
MADION
KEDIRI
PATTEROAN
PROVINCES OF THE NATIVE PRINCES
MALANG
PASAR
PEKALONGAN

upon the whole be said to have risen to the height of the occasion, and in its last days obtained the regrets of a man so enlightened as J. Stuart Mill, the Dutch Company on the other hand continued consistently to evade responsibility, and to regard all its territorial rights as subservient to its mercantile system. Thus the cession, in 1749, of the whole of the northern and eastern coasts to the Company did not lead to any attempt to improve the condition of the country or its inhabitants. The final judgment upon the Dutch East India Company must be pronounced from Dutch mouths. The Commission, appointed in 1790, reported upon the management of affairs that 'they could not conceal the deep impression which the same had made upon their minds, and that they could not fix their thoughts upon it without being affected by sentiments of horror and detestation.' 'When,' said they, 'we take a view of our chief possessions and establishments, and when we attend to the real situation of the internal trade of India, the still increasing and exorbitant rate of the expenses, the incessant want of cash, the mass of paper money in circulation, the unrestrained peculations and faithlessness of many of the Company's servants, the consequent clandestine trade of foreign nations, the perfidy of the native princes, the weakness and connivance of the Indian Government, the excessive expenses in the military department and for public defence: in a word, when we take a view of all this collectively, we

should almost despair of being able to fulfil our task, if some persons of great talent and ability among the Directors had not stepped forward to devise means, if not to eradicate, at least to stop the further progress of corruption and to prevent the total ruin of our Company.'

Whatever chances there may have been of improvement, they were lost by the breaking out of war, and in the general conflagration caused by the French Revolution, the Dutch East India Company came to its inglorious end. The revenue of the Company had mainly depended upon the monopoly of the Eastern trade, and, with the breaking up of that monopoly by the superior power of the British fleet, the deficit in the Java accounts grew by leaps and bounds. Daendels, who arrived in Java in January 1808 to restore the situation, was an able man, but he was above all a Jacobin, a disciple of that terrible school to whom facts were as nothing in the iron grasp of preconceived theory. His claims to have initiated reforms in the lot of the Javanese will be dealt with below; the financial legacy which he left his successor is best told from that successor's own mouth. 'Le ci-devant Gouverneur-Général,' wrote Janssens, 'a epuisé toutes ressources; je ne saurais répondre des évènements.' Again, writing after the final disaster, he said, 'Sauver la colonie, je le déclare devant le Dieu tout puissant, cela était impossible pour qui ce fût. Telle était même l'horreur de la situation, que s'il eut été possible

de vaincre une armée régulière comme celle de l'ennemi, je n'avais pas des moyens pour continuer l'administration de la colonie. Toutes ces ressources étaient épuisées ou anéanties !'

Considering the experiences of the past, and how seldom it is that a vicious circle of deficits can be at once escaped, it will be seen that there was too great an element of hopefulness in the estimate formed by Raffles and endorsed by Lord Minto of a surplus of 700,000 Spanish dollars for the year 1812-13. On the other hand, the estimate was founded on elaborate figures, and was substantially approved by the Bengal Accountant-General. Be this as it may, undoubtedly the disappointment caused by the failure of these expectations, guiltless as Raffles was of the cause of this failure, strengthened the hands of the party opposed to him in the councils of the East India Company, and led to the contemptuous view of his financial measures which for years prevailed. Moreover, this financial disappointment gave tenfold force to the arguments of those who had always regarded the Java Expedition as a hazardous adventure, outside the proper business of the East India Company. It has been seen how reluctantly, and only under the pressure of Lord Minto's influence and logic, the Company had agreed to do more than break the enemy's power, and then leave the Dutch colonists at the mercy of the natives. It was obvious what an argument a succession of deficits would put into the hands of the more

timid party. The ship might be slowly righting itself, so that by the time the colony was restored to the Dutch, it was recognised that the financial equilibrium had been restored, and Raffles's policy, on mere financial grounds, abundantly justified. What the wiseacres of Leadenhall Street demanded was immediate gains, and when these immediate gains were not forthcoming, it is doubtful which was more unpopular, Java or its sanguine Governor.

Meanwhile the strain of the work in hand forbade vague anticipations as to the future. It was a matter of comment both by friends and critics how completely, from the necessity of the case, all the threads of government had to pass through the hands of Raffles. The absence of an experienced and trained civil service rendered his position unique. One great mainstay he did possess. The lines of the policy to be worked out in detail had been once and for all sketched by Lord Minto in the memorable Proclamation of September 11, 1811. Under this His Majesty's subjects in Java were declared to be entitled generally to the same privileges as were enjoyed by the natural-born subjects of Great Britain in India. They will also have the same privilege and freedom of trade to, and with, all countries to the east of the Cape of Good Hope, and also with His Majesty's European dominions, as are possessed by natural-born subjects of Great Britain.' 'Dutch gentlemen will be eligible to all offices of trust.' 'The vexatious system of monopoly . . . will be revised.' 'The

Dutch laws will remain provisionally in force.' The following modifications among others were however made. Torture and mutilation were abolished. British-born subjects were to be amenable to the jurisdiction of the Dutch tribunals, and to the Dutch laws in all cases of civil complaint or demands. All British-born subjects were to be subject to the regulations of police, and to the jurisdiction of the magistrates charged with the execution thereof. Power was given to the Lieutenant-Governor to enact legislative regulations which should have the full force of law. Such regulations were to be immediately reported to the Governor-General in Council in Bengal, together with the Lieutenant-Governor's reasons for passing them and any representations that might have been submitted to him against the same; and the regulations so passed were to be confirmed or disallowed by the Governor-General in Council with the shortest possible delay.

Raffles at once set himself to conciliate the Dutch inhabitants. 'They,' he writes confidentially to Lord Minto in January 1812, 'are perfectly content and happy. . . . There is not among the Dutch the least symptom of dissension, and all classes of people have come most quietly under the British rule. The Colonel (Gillespie) is occasionally full of suspicions with regard to conspiracies and plots, and, I believe, if he had his own way, would send every Dutchman off the island. He really has no consideration whatever for them, but it is all without reason. We

have not had any unpleasant occurrence. As soon as it was known that the oaths might be taken, the public offices were crowded from morning till night with the inhabitants. No order had been ever issued respecting the oaths, and yet every man on the island has taken them; they may really be termed voluntary oaths. The late members of Council came forward in a body, and, after taking the oaths before me, I am sorry to add, got most jovially tipsy at my house in company with the new Councillors.' From another letter we learn that Raffles found the policy of promoting British interests by keeping open house very expensive to his own private pocket.

Although the whole island had been nominally a Dutch possession, they had, in fact, shirked, as we have seen, the responsibilities of sovereignty, and over the greater part of the island the native princes wielded effective authority. The two most important native princes were the Sosohunan or Emperor, who represented the ancient Javanese monarchy, and resided at Solo, and the Sultan of Mataram, whose capital was Djocjocarta. As the Dutch power was seen to wane, vague aspirations after independence began to penetrate the minds of the native rulers. The swiftness, however, and the completeness of the British success prevented any show of overt resistance, and the first months of Raffles's government were spent in peacefully introducing the new system. From the first, in Muntinghe's words, 'his actions aimed at strengthening the European

rule and extending it, setting aside all dangerous influences of the Mahomedan governors.' The power of the European residents was greatly increased by the bringing into operation of a new system of taxation and by the change in the administration of the law. Mr Hope was appointed Civil Commissioner for the eastern districts, an office which Deventer calls 'materially a continuation of former governors of Java.' It is noteworthy that the Netherlands Commissioners-General in 1816 considered Raffles's Instructions to Residents so complete and accurate that they continued them almost entirely without alterations.

The power and authority of the Sultan was of modern date, arising out of the settlement made at the general peace of 1755. The conquests of the Sultan's father had been confirmed by the Dutch, according to Raffles, 'more as a matter of necessity than inclination.' The Sultan had been, on paper, deposed by Marshal Daendels, but had taken advantage of the troubled times to assume the sovereignty, and to remove, try and execute the Prime Minister. The English resident, Mr Crawfurd, took a strong line against the Sultan, but Raffles was very doubtful both of the justice and of the policy of such a line of action. In this state of things he determined to visit in person the Courts of the Emperor and Sultan. Raffles embarked on November 28, and landed at Samarang on December 4, making a public entry into Souracarta on the 21st. The task of coming to terms with the Sosohunan presented little

difficulty. A treaty was signed, under which, in return for a fixed money payment, the Emperor gave up the proceeds of the birds' nests and the teak forests. An important provision, guaranteeing to the Emperor protection, was intended to pave the way for the disbandment of the numerous armed bodies retained in his service. The Emperor professed great satisfaction at the treaty. Producing a letter which Raffles had written from Malacca, he remarked that he was now satisfied that the English promised nothing which they did not perform. At the same time he presented Raffles with a *kriss*, 'invaluable on account of its having descended from his ancestors.'

Very different was the task to be performed at Djocjocarta. Raffles was still hampered by the strong views of the British Agent, Mr Crawfurd. Influential natives banished by Daendels had been sent home by Raffles to report confidentially. Crawfurd, however, by setting them up as rivals to the Sultan, rendered the mission useless. Meanwhile Raffles was still determined to acknowledge the Sultan's authority. He started from Souracarta on December 26, and on the next day proceeded direct to Djocjocarta. 'On my arrival,' Raffles writes to Lord Minto, 'in the neighbourhood of Djocjocarta, every arrangement was made for my reception with the honours shown to Marshal Daendels. . . . I was first met by the Regent, and then by the Sultan, with whom I proceeded in the same carriage to the Residency House, the roads

and streets being lined and crowded by about 10,000 armed men of various descriptions, mostly cavalry. . . . Everything, however, was perfectly peaceable on my approach, and by a quick movement of the troops from Klatten in one morning, and before the Sultan was aware of their number, I found myself in Djocjocarta with nearly the whole disposable force that could have been brought against the place.' Raffles recognised that 'the proceedings with the Sultan and Regent could not be considered otherwise than in the light of an armed negotiation.' In this state of things he deemed it sufficient to bind the Sultan to all his engagements with the former Government, and to reinstate him on the throne during the time he might 'conduct himself to the satisfaction of the British Government.' A deed to this effect was thereupon signed, upon which, 'instead of the appearance of caution and fear,' the Sultan 'evinced a perfect confidence in the sincerity and intentions of the English. There were no troops whatever in the palace, and it seemed to be his desire in every measure to show his gratitude and attachment to me.' The question of a treaty upon the lines of the treaty with the Emperor was postponed to a later date.

The mode of collecting the revenue was altered. As early as March 1812, Raffles was able to write that 'in the collection of the revenue the obnoxious system of farming has been abandoned as much as possible, and regular custom-houses have been established at Batavia, Samarang and Sourabaya. A

system of duties has been established, founded in some measure on the extent of the duties hitherto collected, and with reference to the support of the dependent situations of Penang, Malacca, Bencoolen and the Moluccas, which sooner or later must fall upon the immediate Government of this place if Java continues a British settlement.' These duties were fixed at the rate of 10 per cent. The commercial policy of Raffles has been severely criticised by Deventer, who quotes the Napoleonic description of his rule given by Crawfurd—that of 'a warehouse keeper.' Upon the other hand, Raffles strenuously maintained that, in the economic and moral conditions of the Eastern Archipelago, Free Trade would have led to untold evils, and that his measures were the best attainable in the peculiar circumstances of the case.

A yet more important business than commercial policy at once occupied Raffles's attention. In the administration of justice, 'the system found existing . . . was at once complicated and confused. In the principal towns there were established courts, but these were constituted in all the troublesome formalities of the Roman law; and in the different Presidencies were Provincial Courts, styled *Landraads*, where the native form and law was left to take its course, with all its barbarities and atrocities' (Minute of February 11, 1814). Torture and mutilation had been abolished by Lord Minto's proclamation, and an attempt was at once made to simplify the clumsy and unwieldy structure of the former courts.

The separate courts for the trial of cases affecting European Government employés were abolished, and three separate courts established at Batavia, Samarang and Sourabaya, dealing with all cases between Europeans, the facts being in every case decided upon by a jury. In civil cases the Dutch law prevailed, but in criminal the English, as far as possible, was followed. Minor courts were set on foot for the recovery of small debts, and police magistrates appointed in the towns. At the same time courts were established in the different districts, in which the chief civil authorities presided, aided by the Regents and other native officers, for the trial of cases in which natives only were concerned — criminal cases of a capital nature being reserved for judges of circuit, who were to attend twice a year.

At a later date (1814), after a careful inquiry into the native customs, a system was established under which the original constitution of the villages was utilised, and the superintendence and responsibility continued in the hands of the village chiefs. The duties of the Resident as judge and magistrate were considerably extended. The Residencies were divided into districts, and chiefs of districts (*Bopatis*) appointed. The districts were again sub-divided into divisions, to be generally not less than ten nor more than twenty miles in extent, and each of these divisions contained a police station. Within the divisions were the villages, each with its headman, to be elected by the villagers themselves from among

the resident landholders. These headmen were held responsible for the good behaviour of their villages, and directed to keep the necessary registries. 'Their reward will be a certain portion of land in each village, and the favouring eye and protection of Government.' Small civil cases might be tried in native divisional and district courts, but, with certain trifling exceptions, all cognisance of criminal cases was vested solely in the Resident's Courts. The chief priests and native fiscals attended these to expound the law. If the opinions of these officers appeared to the Resident to be consonant with substantial justice, the sentence was immediately carried into effect. In case of a difference of opinion, the decision was referred to the Lieutenant-Governor. The circuit judges were in future to attend quarterly, and a native jury, consisting of five members, was constituted for the trial of the facts. Following the spirit of Locke's Constitution, Raffles forbade the employment of native lawyers. 'It is trusted that litigation will be considerably reduced and discouraged by this measure.'

Raffles strongly deprecated the introduction of 'a judicial establishment from England, of all things the most to be dreaded for the general prosperity and happiness of the population. The British Courts of Justice fit with difficulty our permanent English establishments in India; but here their introduction would only lead to anarchy, vexation and trouble without end.' The Dutch colonial law, when modified, Raffles believed to be 'peculiarly adapted

to the place, . . . and perhaps the best that could he devised.'

We learn from Captain Travers that, 'soon after the capture of the island, Mr Raffles removed from Batavia to Buitenzorg, the country residence of the former Governor, distant forty miles from Batavia, and here he kept a most hospitable table. He went to Ryswick every week to attend the Council, consisting of Major-General, then Colonel, Gillespie, . . . with Mr Muntinghe and Mr Cransen, Dutch gentlemen, who had held high situations under the former government. At Ryswick he remained a day or two, according to circumstances, and occasionally saw company there; but the climate at Buitenzorg being so far superior, he was always anxious to return, and seldom lost much time on the road, performing the journey in four hours. He was most attentive to the members of the former government, who were constant guests at his table.' (Captain Travers's Journal.)

It was not, however, allowed to Raffles to work out in peace the salvation of the island. Java itself, for the time, remained tranquil, but the behaviour of the Sultan of Palembang, which, though situated in Sumatra, had been a tributary of the Dutch Batavian Government, necessitated military measures. He had been invited to acknowledge the British suzerainty in the stead of the Dutch. At first, however, he adopted a haughty tone, and seemed inclined to resist. At last, impressed by the British power, he altered his

tactics and professed to have been from the first a cordial ally, so as to have become entitled to generous treatment. In fact, he had caused the Dutch inhabitants to be foully murdered, so that they might not be witnesses to his false statements, and had done this after the news had reached him of the conquest of Java. In these circumstances it became necessary to depose the Sultan, and an expedition for this purpose was at once set on foot. The story of this expedition, which started in March and had achieved complete success by May, hardly belongs to the life of Raffles. It reflected great credit on all concerned, especially on Colonel Gillespie who was in command. To Raffles the importance of the business lay in the fact that under the treaty by which the Sultan was deposed and his brother raised to the throne in his stead, Banca and Billiton became British possessions. The value of Banca, because of its productive tin mines, had been long recognised by Raffles, and for the present it certainly seemed that fortune was favouring his policy. 'I am aware,' he wrote to Lord Minto, 'that I have taken much responsibility upon myself in the adoption of hostile measures against Palembang without previous reference to Bengal; but so many favourable circumstances concurred to induce the measure, and so many obstacles in the way of its final success appeared to present themselves in the event of delay, that I should not have felt myself justified to have lost the opportunity of so much larger a force than could ever have been subsequently left at our command. In fact, the expedition must either

have taken place now or been delayed for another year; and this consideration of itself was enough to outweigh every objection. . . . I have provisionally appointed a Resident for Banca, and I trust my next letter will communicate favourable intelligence on this point. There is one thing I have never noticed regarding Banca, and that is the harbour of Klabbat, stated to be the most secure in India, and capable of every defence. . . . It is directly in the route for our trade through the China seas, and the situation of Minta, on which it is projected to form the first settlement in Banca, is perhaps the most commanding that could be chosen for the Eastern seas.'

Palembang was not the only point from which danger threatened. We have already described the visit of the Governor to the Courts of Souracarta and Djocjocarta and the measures then taken. Although Raffles considered that the interests of the Emperor bound him to the British connection, he, at the same time, recognised the danger that a weak and irresolute character might fall a victim to the intrigues of stronger men. With regard to Djocjocarta, Raffles had at the time recognised the Sultan as the less of two evils, but he never pretended that the arrangement, to which he had come, had in it even the promise of finality. After the expedition to Palembang had started, Raffles took up his headquarters at Samarang with his family, so as to be on the spot in case of need. Demands had been made by the native princes with which it was impossible to comply. They claimed to receive, as in the old

times, the coast duties. Raffles 'immediately saw with his quick and unerring glance that the payment of the coast dues could not be allowed. They were a last memento of the manner in which the old Company had put themselves in possession of the countries on the coast, which had been erased by Daendels, at least on paper' (Deventer).

Another demand of the native rulers occasioned less difficulty. The princes deposed during the former *régime* were sent home, and a British party thus established at the native courts. 'The British Lieutenant-Governor,' writes Deventer, 'availed himself in a masterly way of the errors committed by Daendels to attach the native nobles to himself.' In a short sketch it is impossible to explain the subtle machinations of Raffles's diplomacy, which have won the emphatic approval of the Dutch historian. The long and short of it was that the Courts of the Sosahunan and the Sultan never really came to terms, and that when things were ripe for action at Djocjocarta the native authorities were by no means at one in their opposition, and the work of repression thereby greatly facilitated.

During his stay at Samarang, Captain Travers writes:—'Mr Raffles was availing himself of every opportunity of gaining local knowledge. The native chiefs were constant guests at his table, and there was not a moment of his time which he did not contrive to devote to some useful purpose. The only recreation he ever indulged in, and that was absolutely necessary for the preservation of his health,

was an evening drive and occasionally a ride in the morning. He was not, however, at this time an early riser, owing to his often writing till a very late hour at night. He was moderate at table, but so full of life and spirits that on public occasions he would often sit much longer than agreed with him. In general the hour for dinner was four o'clock, which enabled the party to take a drive in the evening ; but on all public days, and when the party was large, dinner was at seven o'clock. At Samarang the society, of course, was small compared with Batavia, but on public occasions sixty and eighty were often assembled at the Government House, and at balls from a hundred and fifty to a hundred and eighty. Mr Raffles never retired early, always remaining till after supper, was affable, animated, agreeable and attentive to all, and never seemed fatigued, although perhaps at his desk all the morning, and on the following day would be at business at ten o'clock. In conducting the details of government and giving his orders to those immediately connected with his own office, his manner was most pleasing, mild yet firm ; he quickly formed his decision, and gave his orders with a clearness and perspicuity which was most satisfactory to everyone connected with him ; he was ever courteous and kind, easy of access at all times, exacting but little from his staff, who were most devotedly attached to him. The generosity of his disposition and the liberality of his sentiments were most conspicuous and universally acknowledged. As a public servant no man could apply himself with more zeal and

attention to the arduous duties of his office. He never allowed himself the least relaxation, and was ever alert in the discharge of the important trust committed to him; and it is astonishing how long his health continued good under such great exertions both of mind and body.'

In October 1812 Raffles wrote to his friend Ramsay :—'I can hardly say what change has taken place in me since we parted. I feel that I am somewhat older, and, in many points of a worldly nature, I am apt to view men and things in a somewhat different light, but I may fairly say that it is my belief that I am intrinsically the same. How far good, how far bad, those who know me must decide. . . . I am here alone, without any advice, in a new country, with a large native population of not less than six or seven millions of people, a great proportion of foreign Europeans, and a standing army of not less than seven thousand men.' It is pleasant to hear from the same letter that he was 'now able to clear off all pecuniary incumbrances.'

The result of the Governor's diplomacy was seen in the fact that in spite of the absence of the greater portion of the British troops on the expedition to Palembang overt acts of hostility were still delayed. Raffles recognised, however, that it would be dangerous to delay longer, and on the return of Colonel Gillespie (June 1, 1812), it was decided not to wait for the main body of the troops, but to act with the force which had been previously concentrated at Samarang. The Sultan having refused to comply

with the Governor's summons, a heavy cannonade was begun against the royal palace. The invading force consisted of about 1200 men. The palace was a regular fortified position about three miles in circumference, surrounded by a wide and deep ditch, with a wall forty-five feet high, well defended. The garrison consisted of 11,000 men, but, nevertheless, the position was taken by assault. The person of the Sultan and that of the hereditary Prince were secured, and the country placed at the disposal of the British. The importance of this action could hardly be overrated. The European power was now for the first time paramount in Java. Hitherto their possessions on the sea coast had remained precarious, and there would have been grave risk of disasters if any attempt had been made to reduce the military force. It had not been possible till now for the British Government to dictate to the native princes the terms of the future connection. Now for the first time the taxes imposed on the population were brought under European control. 'It was not the amount of the duties which rendered them an object of importance, but it was of great weight in the political scale that these collections should be kept in the hands of the Government. Starting on that principle, the exclusive management of all commercial duties in both kingdoms was required by Raffles for the European power, and he immediately put an end to the old land system by abolishing the forced deliveries of produce. The Princes had to bind themselves to maintain an able police force, and the Sultan especially

was compelled to disband his bodyguard, and to accept the replacement of it by British troops.' (Deventer). The native rulers all through acted in precisely the manner which suited Raffles's policy. But for their treachery, or—in the case of the Emperor—contemplated treachery, it would have been practically impossible for a long time to introduce European rule and the blessings of the new system into the Eastern districts. Our hero's principle was in no case to demand more than he could enforce in case of refusal, and this combination of moderation and strength was the secret of the remarkable success which attended his proceedings. 'A population,' he wrote, 'of not less than a million has been wrested from the tyranny and oppression of an independent, ignorant and cruel Prince, and a country yielding to none on earth in fertility and cultivation, affording a revenue of not less than a million of Spanish dollars in the year, placed at our disposal. The result at Djocjocarta is decisive at Souracarta, and that court must necessarily fall under the same arrangement.' The proceedings of Raffles met with the cordial approval of Lord Minto. On December 15, 1812, he wrote:—'I shall be impatient for the materials which are called for, because I am anxious to deliver, without reserve or qualification, the very high and favourable view I now have of that whole series of measures, beginning with the expedition to Palembang, and ending with the arrangement of the two courts of Solo and Djocjocarta, connected and combined with each other as these measures were.

I consider the result of the latter proceeding as very glorious to your administration, during the short period of which more will have been accomplished for the security of the European power, the tranquillity of the island, and the solid improvement of general prosperity and happiness, than several centuries have been able to perform, when the superiority of European power was exerted, unencumbered by the scruples of justice and good faith. Nothing can be more excellent than all your arrangements in the eastern districts of Java. With regard to Palembang and Banca, your latest reports have enabled us to approve, without reservation, the arrangement formed at Palembang, and the annexation of Banca to the territories of the East India Company, our minds being satisfied upon the two points of justice and expediency. The sovereignty of the Sultan of Palembang in Banca is placed beyond question, and leaves that dependence of Palembang indisputably subject both to the laws of conquest in so just a war and to the effect of cession from the authority under which it is now held.'

It is probable that the first years of his government of Java were the happiest of Raffles's public life. He delighted to put himself and the Government in immediate contact with the natives, and maintained an active correspondence on scientific matters with the Emperor, the Regent of Madura and other natives, to the astonishment of the Dutch ex-officials. The Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences was revived and placed on a new footing; Raffles himself becoming its active President. In every direction the powers of

which our hero had been conscious had now a fair field for their display, and he was able at once to uphold the interests of Great Britain and to improve the condition of the native population, in whose welfare he took so lively an interest. Meanwhile, he was adding to the stores of his knowledge, so that as statesman, philanthropist and savant, he found himself fully employed. True it was that he was working at high pressure, but for the time his health seems to have stood the strain well. It was when worry was added to work that the mischief was revealed.

CHAPTER VI

THE GOVERNMENT OF JAVA (1811-16)—*continued*

System of Land Tenure—Tentative Experiments—Settlement of 1813—Final Settlement of 1814—Position of Regents—Difficulties of Governor's Position—Success of Measures—Financial Situation—Lord Minto's Advice—General Gillespie—Relations with Governor—Sale of Public Land—Gillespie's Charges—Final Acquittal.

Among the measures adopted by Raffles the one which he had most at heart, and the one which most affected the lives of the people, was his reform of the system of land tenure. Lord Minto's instructions had called attention to the system of contingents or forced payments in kind, under which the Government derived a revenue from forced deliveries of crops, and kept the whole body of the people dependent on its pleasure for subsistence. The wretched cultivator was obliged to buy back, at an enhanced price, the produce of which he had already been mulcted. The Dutch expected a certain contribution from each Regent, but did not care to inquire by what means the contribution was obtained. 'The Residents living at the principal towns of the district,' Raffles wrote, 'conveyed the orders of the Government to the Regents, to whom the execution of them was entrusted. The revenue being received from the Regent

only, the mode of collection remained in his hands, leaving the cultivators no security beyond the claims of established usage and custom.' There was good reason to suppose that the whole system was comparatively modern, and due to the pressure of the Dutch in extorting a revenue. Daendels had altered the form of the abuses, but left most of them in existence. 'I have thought it meet,' he writes, 'to secure for the State the advantages that were formerly enjoyed by the Residents and other officials,' and that 'idea,' says Deventer, 'indicated the scale of the imperfections of his policy. The officials were now salaried instead of any longer being allowed the public or the secret profits, on which they had existed before; but the sources from which these salaries emanated remained the same impure one as before. . . . The abuses that included an actual extortion from the "poor Javanese," not only by the forced deliveries, but also by the contingents even of rice, thus obtained open sanction. Daendels himself set the example of obliging the natives to deliver their rice to Government at 17 rix-dollars the coyan, after which they were allowed to buy it back at 30 rix-dollars.' It thus appears that the whole business of Daendels had been to substitute the foreign government for the foreign officials as the general taskmaster. In these circumstances Lord Minto recommended 'a radical reform in this branch to the serious and early attention of Government. The principle of encouraging industry in the cultivation and improvement of land, by creating an interest in

the effort and fruits of that industry, can be expected in Java only by a fundamental change of the whole system of landed property and tenure. A wider field, but a somewhat distant one, is open to this great and interesting improvement. . . . On this branch nothing must be done that is not mature, because the exchange is too extensive to be suddenly or ignorantly attempted. But fixed and immutable principles of the human character and of human association assures me of ultimate, and, I hope, not remote success, in views that are consonant with every motive of action that operates on man, and are justified by the practice and experience of every flourishing country of the world.' 'In obtaining the necessary information to enable him to frame such a system as, whilst it abolished the vicious practice hitherto pursued in the island, would strengthen the resources of the island . . . the greatest exertion was required on Mr Raffles's part, and he devoted himself with his accustomed enthusiasm to the task; night and day he worked at it. To satisfy himself upon all local points, to obtain personal intercourse and become acquainted with the character of the native chiefs connected with, or in any way affected by, the new system, Mr Raffles deemed it advisable to proceed to the eastern parts of the island, where he remained a considerable time, and visited every place, often undergoing the greatest personal exertions and fatigue, which few accompanying him were able to encounter; indeed, several were sufferers from the very long journeys he made, riding sometimes sixty and seventy

miles in one day, a fatigue which few constitutions are equal to in an Eastern climate' (Travers). A Commission had been appointed, consisting of Dutch members, presided over by Colonel Mackenzie. This elaborate and exhaustive inquiry sufficiently established certain conclusions. Although the state of things prevailing was not the same in all the different districts, still it was, on the whole, clear that there was no proprietary right in the soil vested in any of the intermediaries between the actual cultivator and the sovereign. Such intermediate officers—it is unnecessary to trouble the reader with their names and degrees—though enjoying the revenues of districts or villages, had never been considered other than the executive officers of Government. They had received those revenues only from the gift of the overlord, and had depended upon his will alone for their tenure. It was possible, and the analogy of Bali, where Hindu customs continued unalloyed, suggested that, in a remote past, before the Mahometan invasion, there had been some property in the soil residing in the cultivator. Raffles was fond of recalling that, according to the institutions of the ancient kingdom of Majopahit, it was ordained that 'next to the sovereign shall be considered and respected the cultivator of the soil; they shall be the first class in the State below the sovereign.' For practical purposes, however, the actual proprietary rights in the soil lay wholly with the sovereign, although it was also found that the first clearers of the land were considered to be, in a measure, its creators,

so as to become entitled to undisturbed possession for themselves and their heirs, provided that a due tribute in kind was paid in return for protection.

The aims of the new policy were best stated in Raffles's *History of Java*. 'The peasant was subject to gross oppression and undefined exaction; our object was to remove his oppressor, and to limit demand to a fixed and reasonable rate of contribution. He was liable to restraint on the freedom of inland trade, to personal services and forced contingents: our object was to commute them all for a fixed and well-known contribution. The exertions of his industry were reluctant and languid, because he had little or no interest in its fruits: our object was to encourage that industry by connecting his exertions with the promotion of his own individual welfare and prosperity. Capital could not be immediately created, nor agricultural skill acquired; but by giving the cultivator a security that whatever he accumulated would be for his own benefit, and whatever improvements he made, he or his own family might enjoy it, a motive was held out to him to exert himself on the road to attain both. Leases or contracts for fixed rents for terms of years, in the commencement, and eventually in perpetuity, seemed to be the only mode of satisfying the cultivator that he would not be liable as formerly to yearly undefined demands; while freedom from all taxes but an assessment on his crop, or rather a fixed sum in commutation thereof, would leave him at full liberty to devote the whole of his attention and labour to render his land as productive as possible.'

The foundations of the amended system were, according to Raffles :—'1st. The entire abolition of forced deliveries at inadequate rates and of all feudal services, with the establishment of a perfect freedom in cultivation and trade: 2nd. The assumption on the part of Government of the immediate superintendence of the lands, with the collection of the rents and resources thereof: 3rd. The renting out of the lands so assessed to the actual occupants in large or small estates, according to local circumstances, on leases for a moderate term.'

Although the final conclusion reached was that it was unnecessary to preserve any intermediate agency between the actual cultivator and the supreme sovereign, it was not till 1814 that it was finally laid down that '*the Tiang palit* or *ryotwar* settlement is considered as that which will prove most satisfactory to the people and most beneficial to government.' In the settlement of the preceding year the land had been let out to the heads of villages, who were held responsible for the proper management of the country placed under their superintendence and authority. They were to relet to the cultivators at 'such a rate as shall not be found oppressive.'

With regard to the amount of rent to be paid, Raffles, 'on mature consideration,' conceived that a fair equivalent for the burdens from which the people were released 'might be found, one district with another, in establishing the Government share at about two-fifths of the rice crop, leaving the second crop, and the fruit trees and gardens attached to the

villages, free from assessment, the cultivators free from personal taxes, and the inland trade unrestricted and untaxed.'

It may well be that Raffles remained for some time in uncertainty with regard to the best method of land leases. He availed himself of the acquisition of new districts to undertake experiments on the subject. The 'resumption' by purchase of districts which had been alienated to Chinamen afforded convenient ground for such experiments. Ulujami, in the province of Pakalongan, was the first district in which the new revenue system was introduced. Here, and in parts of Cadoe, the land was let to the lower classes individually. In Batang, which was also in Pakalongan, the land was let to the village chiefs. At the time of the conquest, the greater portion of the fertile province of Bantam was in the hands of a rebel, and insurrection and anarchy had prevailed for years. All idea of raising a revenue had been abandoned by the Dutch. Raffles came to an arrangement with the Sultan under which the immediate management of the country was undertaken by the British Government; by which means a land rental was introduced and a revenue settlement effected. In Bantam, the land appears to have been, for the most part, leased to the Sultan's relatives and to the principal nobles. The country of Cheribon was also found in a state of tumult and confusion. The rebellion was stamped out, and the Sultans 'were relieved from future contingents and forced services, and consented that the internal administration of the country should be exer-

cised by the Government, in consideration of their being secured in the possession of certain tracts of land, with a continuation of the annual pension in money which they had previously enjoyed.' Each individual was secured in the possession of the lands which had descended from his ancestors, provided that he was willing to pay a moderate and fair rent, equivalent to what was before paid in produce or services. The way being thus prepared, a new system, under which the land was let to the village headmen, was made general in June 1813. Considering that this half-way settlement only lasted a year, Deventer is unnecessarily severe in his judgment on Raffles. The Dutch historian finds 'a lack of sincerity.' 'Nowhere,' he asserts, 'did the natural efforts of the first lessee (who had bound himself for a fixed sum to the Government) to exact a higher rent from his tenants experience any restriction.' Under the revenue instructions, however, of February 1814, European collectors were appointed to the various districts, whose office consisted 'in the sole and entire superintendence of the land revenue.' By this means the revenue and the judicial branches of the administration were, so far as possible, completely separated. It is true that the village headmen and officers of divisions were immediately responsible for the collection of the land rent, but they acted under the eye and control of British supervision. 'It is not enough,' wrote Raffles, 'that the Government lay down the principles of a benevolent system . . . it is with the collectors that the application of these

principles is entrusted, and to their temper, assiduity, judgment and integrity that the people have to look for the enjoyment of the blessings which it is intended to bestow on them.'

To the criticism of Deventer that the land rent exacted was too high, it is enough to point to Raffles's own words, wherein, after giving as a standard the scale which Deventer questions, he adds: 'It must be expected that less than this will be levied for some time to come. Various reasons will induce a low rental being established at first, as the energies of many impoverished and long oppressed districts are to be brought forth by every encouragement Government can give; but when cultivation has reached what may be considered its state of perfection, and the settlement is completely matured, the above must form the general rates of assessment.'

Deventer further suggests that the abolition of feudal services was merely on paper, but on this it is well to note the evidence of Dr Horsfield. 'On my passage (in 1813) through the Province of Cheribon I already found the new system in complete operation. The feudal services had been abolished. Instead of applying, as was formerly the custom, to the native governor for an allowance of carriers to convey my baggage on public account, I sent to the bazaar, where the carriers were ready to afford their services for a regular payment.'

The real crux of the matter, from a practical point of view, lay in the position of the Regents. We

have seen that under the old system they had farmed the entire land revenue. The Dutch had shrunk from coming in contact with the Javanese people. Now, by a stroke of the pen, all their profits, licit and illicit, were abolished. What would be their attitude towards the new system? On the answer to this question depended perhaps the tranquillity of the whole island. That the change would immensely benefit the downtrodden people could be doubted by no sane man. But then, were they so downtrodden as to have reached the stage of not caring for a remedy? The respect which influenced the cautious Muntinghe in giving expression to a note of doubt, the respect which gave some reason to the querulous criticisms of both the Bengal and the home authorities, was that the new system might produce a hotbed of discontent amongst the most influential class of the Javanese. Happily none of these forebodings were justified. Most fortunately, Mahometan ideas had obtained full sway in Java, and there was thus no aristocracy in the island. The favourite Regent of to-day might be discarded to-morrow, and his children would very probably sink to a lower class. In this state of things the new position offered by Raffles, with its fixed and assured emoluments, was not to be lightly rejected. Those who have most right to speak are agreed in saying that no European really knows what is passing through an Oriental's mind, and perhaps it is not in their nature to find that delight in order and system which the enthusiasm of Raffles

recognised around him. Nevertheless, no overt sign of discontent was given, and the leading classes were assuredly not estranged from the British influence. The Regents were compensated by extensive land grants, which were to be free from the payment of rent. They were also paid a fixed salary, in return for which they undertook police duties. 'In lieu,' wrote Raffles, 'of their precarious, confined and frequently taxed emoluments under the Dutch administration, has been substituted certain clear and equitable allowance, which I can confidently assert has been found agreeable to everyone of them. The principle which I adopted in settling the amount to be paid to each was as follows: I visited each district in person, explaining myself to the Regent the nature and object of the system to be introduced, and desired him to state the amount of his then emoluments in every shape. I then fixed what he should in future receive always at a sum exceeding what he stated.'

We have seen how tentative and cautious were, in fact, Raffles's proceedings, and the criticisms to which they have been thereby exposed. It is somewhat hard that he should be generally exposed to the opposite charge of undue precipitancy. Started by Crawfurd, who, for various reasons, bore Raffles no great good will, it has been repeated by works of authority. The charge was anticipated and met by Raffles. He declared that, fully aware of the great importance of these measures, he had determined to postpone their adoption until the sentiments of the

Supreme Government could be received. As early as May 1812 he had mooted the question. His despatch on the subject, however, remained without reply. Hence he concluded that silence gave consent (Letter to Lord Minto, January 1814). In his minute of June 1813, he wrote :—'I am fully aware of the objections which may be raised against the introduction of so new and extensive an arrangement, at a period when the future administration of the colony is perhaps undetermined and of the apprehensions which may be entertained of our proceedings fettering the future government of the settlement, and undoubtedly it is due from us to give these considerations every weight ; but, on the other hand, we are also to consider that the proposed arrangement has been in contemplation from the day of the fall of Djocjocarta, that it has already been proceeded on to a considerable extent, and that the minds of the inhabitants are at this moment fully prepared for the change. Its general adoption throughout the island has been delayed for the last six months, in the expectation of information from Europe, and the period seems now to have arrived when it must be either generally introduced, or dropped, perhaps, for ever.' In a letter to Sir R. Inglis, dated February 13, 1814, he wrote :—'In every reference which has latterly been made to the Supreme Government, a hesitation in forming an opinion for the guidance of this Government has been evinced, arising from the provisional and uncertain tenure of the Government

as it now stands; and it is possible that the same hesitation may still exist with regard to the two great questions now submitted, and it is on this account particularly that I am induced to seek early instructions from Europe. I have been forced to act, in every measure of importance, on my own responsibility, not from the superior authorities being ignorant of the real interests of the colony, but from a hesitation on their part to involve themselves with the Government which might be finally fixed. I have invariably invited and courted the command of the superior authorities on questions which I considered of moment, and necessity alone, and the conviction that the favourable moment for action might otherwise be lost, have induced me to act expressly from my own judgment. Those only who have been in similar cases can feel the weight of responsibility which attaches.'

Final judgment on the new system was, in fact, never pronounced by the Bengal or the home authorities. All that our hero's friends could suggest was that time was necessary to pronounce upon its ultimate effect. It inevitably became enveloped in the mist of suspicion, which, for the time, prejudiced Lord Moira against everything connected in any way with Raffles. In the angry letter of dismissal with which the Company rewarded the labours of their officer, the failure of the new system is assumed rather than maintained. Short, however, as was the time allowed for the vindication of these measures, and unpropitious as

were the circumstances in which the experiment was made, the inherent advantages of the new system did not fail at once to show themselves from a financial point of view. Within the period of two years after the introduction of the new system of land tenure, the revenue had been increased to the amount of over one and a half million rupees. The land rental amounted to nearly one half of the whole revenues of the island, so that Raffles might reasonably claim 'that the improvement thus effected is rendered permanent, and that a very short time only has been required to repay, in a pecuniary point of view, those temporary and partial sacrifices which, in the introduction of a radical change that had equally in view the amelioration of the condition of the people and the interests of the Government, could not be avoided.' (Letter to E. I. Directors, March 11, 1816).

It is needless to labour argument, because the final vindication of this policy was given by the Dutch themselves, who, on their restoration to the colony, with all their dislike and fear of Raffles personally, were content to tread along the path he had already marked out. To the strange criticism of Colonel Yule, who declared that Raffles had left no permanent traces of his work in Java, may be opposed the testimony of the Dutch official, Mr Muntinghe, than whom none was more competent to speak, who had the candour to assert that 'the first, the most difficult, and certainly the most hazardous step towards the introduction of a system of political government and

regulated taxation had therefore been taken when the Commissioner-General took over the government of Java in 1816.'

That the work of reform was in some ways incomplete, that the burden of the heavy toll dues on inland transit still persisted in spite of the Governor's expressed disapproval, is quite true, but when it is remembered how short was the term of his government and how difficult it was to effect improvement when the political future of the island remained constantly in doubt, the wonder is not that there were shortcomings, but that the amount of reform achieved was of so far-reaching and of so permanent a character.

The greatest stumbling-block to a regular administration had lain in the native regencies being scattered in different parts. The country was mapped out in regular districts, which were subdivided into divisions. The Netherlands Commissioners in 1816, while they considered Raffles's instructions to the district Residents 'so complete and accurate' that they continued them almost entirely without alteration, at the same time continued for the most part the divisions as they had been marked out by him.

While, however, the main measures of land reform dealt with the length and breadth of the island, and with the tenure of the natives, unkind fate decided that an altogether subsidiary measure should have a most calamitous influence on Raffles's fortunes. Attention has been already called to the financial position of the island at the date of the conquest.

The discontinuance of remittances of silver from Europe after the revolution in Holland had inevitably led to the enforced use of a paper currency. The paper dollar, as was natural in the circumstances, tended rapidly to depreciate. Lord Minto had accepted responsibility for a sum of eight and a half millions rix-dollars at the value of six and a half rix (paper) dollars to one Spanish dollar. In spite, however, of this, the paper dollar continued to depreciate, and in the autumn of 1812 it fell to twelve or thirteen rix for a Spanish dollar. Meanwhile the Government in all its payments was suffering a loss of one hundred per cent. This was a state of things which could not be endured, and the only question was how the paper money could be withdrawn. Against the most obvious way of meeting the difficulty, viz., the drawing of bills upon Bengal, there was the express veto of the Supreme Government. Moreover, Raffles felt strongly that a colonial obligation of this kind should in fairness fall on the resources of the colony. In this state of things, the only course open appeared to be a partial sale of the public lands. By this means about one-fourth of the public debt could be at once wiped out. It may frankly be allowed that in the special circumstances of the case the course adopted by Raffles can only be defended as a measure of necessity; but it was for his critics to point out an alternative measure. Lord Minto at least (November 1812) assented 'to the absolute and exigent necessity which was the motive

and is the justification of the proceedings. . . . The only plan for the redemption of the paper which could be found appears very clearly to have been precisely that to which you had recourse. . . . I consider, therefore, your measure to have been an *able expedient* in a case of *great emergency*.' But already there is a foretaste of what might be expected from less friendly critics. 'At the same time I conceive the *necessity* of a prompt remedy to form the essential, and indeed the indispensable, ground of the resolution that was taken, for I should not, I confess, have thought an extensive alienation of the public domains advisable in itself, under the particular circumstances of the colony at the time. First, it was too important a measure to be adopted during a provisional government, the duration of which is more than precarious. Secondly, it ought (and naturally would, without the pressure of immediate necessity) to have received the previous sanction of the Supreme Government. Thirdly, although my views, as you know, lead to the transfer of public territory to the management of individual industry, and the creation of a genuine landed interest . . . yet I have felt that this change could not be brought about suddenly. . . . I touch upon these points the more willingly, for the purpose of conveying to you a caution on the subject founded on my knowledge of the sentiments which appear to be most prevalent at home, but which you may not be apprised of. There is a great division of opinion

on the question of permanent settlements and the extension of that system to the newly-acquired provinces under the Presidency of Bengal, which has in a great degree been carried into effect during my administration. The introduction of that system has been gradual in these provinces, but yet more sudden than is approved of at home. But Java is in a state infinitely less favourable to perpetual alienations, and you may depend upon such measures, unsupported by particular exigency, being disapproved, and indeed disavowed and annulled, in England.'

There would seem to be in this passage some confusion between Raffles's general land measures and the particular sale which for the most part only affected Europeans. Be this as it may, the bolt when it fell was charged not by motives of general policy, but by personal hostility. Exigencies of space have forbidden to treat as it deserved the gallantry displayed by Colonel Gillespie in the conquest of Java. That gallantry had been rightly rewarded by the command of the troops in the island. At first 'there was the most perfect understanding between the civil and military authorities and Colonel Gillespie and myself.' Gillespie had indeed already (Raffles is writing in January 1812) threatened to 'set us all by the ears' in supporting a soldier 'against the police magistrate and the whole of the Dutch inhabitants,' but 'the conclusion proved satisfactory to everyone.' 'It is quite unnecessary that I should inform your Lordship that I have rather a strange character

to deal with ; he prides himself on his quixotism, but with all his irregularities is a man of so high a stamp and caste that I must esteem him. We shall never break without great concern on my part . . . but your Lordship knows his character too well to suppose it is practicable that we should both travel at the same pace. He does and will take some of the strangest starts and wildest freaks into his head that ever entered into the mind of man.' Unfortunately differences tended to widen between the civil and the military authorities. Raffles, anxious to relieve the strain upon the finances, and acting on the express command of Lord Minto, desired to diminish the number of the troops in the island. Gillespie, believing that Java would soon be handed over to the Crown, and taking into consideration the probability of an attack by the French, insisted that any reduction was impossible. The embarkation of a portion of the 89th regiment in August 1812 was deeply resented by the General. When men are once at issue, fresh causes of difference do not fail to arise. Raffles believed that the financial situation was aggravated by the action of Gillespie in refusing to allow the troops to be paid in paper money. Later, charges against Gillespie's private conduct were dealt with by Raffles in such a way as to rouse the wrath of the vindictive General. Matters went to such extremities that for some time Gillespie ceased to attend the meetings of Council. The relations between the Lieutenant-Governor

and the General had received the thoughtful consideration of Lord Minto. A solution was found by the proposal of Sir G. Nugent, the Commander-in-Chief in Bengal, to place Gillespie on his staff, and send General Nightingall to Java. By this means Lord Minto wrote, 'a good retreat or rather an honourable advantageous station is prepared for Gillespie, whose military character and services I shall always admire and venerate. Another desirable consequence of this exchange, I hope, may be the superseding the necessity of investigating and pronouncing upon his political conduct in Java.' General Nightingall, who appears to have been a natural son of Lord Cornwallis, Lord Minto described as 'a man of honour, and a general in the highest degree, his manner in all respects as amiable as I really believe his conduct to be.' In fact, he proved a most loyal and staunch friend to Raffles.

While relations were thus strained between General Gillespie and Raffles, there occurred the sale of public lands, which took place on January 26, 1813. This sale had been resolved upon in the previous November. In the Minute of the Board on the subject, it was freely admitted that 'it would undoubtedly have been more desirable to have delayed any decisive measures until the Board could have had the honour of receiving the sentiments of the Supreme Government on the several financial statements and despatches forwarded since the commencement of the present official year, and the existing uncertainty with regard to the future administration

of the colony is also a strong argument for delay, but the difficulties which arise from the depreciation of the paper currency are such as must be expected to increase if not immediately checked; and whatever may tend to restore its value must under any circumstances be beneficial.' If Java was not to be 'rendered a burden on the established British possessions,' the only course was gradually to withdraw the whole mass of the old paper from circulation, by the sale of part of the domains of the island. Gillespie was not present at the meeting of the Council on November 4, 1812, but in the beginning of December he forwarded a Minute objecting to the execution of the measure in consequence of the probability that an approaching change in the government of Java was to be expected. The decision of the matter was further postponed in deference to Gillespie. In a subsequent Minute of the 23rd December, he gave a qualified assent to the proposals of the Council, if the Board, 'in its mature deliberation,' had determined that no other expedient of less magnitude could be adopted to meet the exigency. From the confused and blundering manner in which, at a later date, Gillespie supported his contention, it is clear that no light or leading was to be obtained from him. His only practical suggestion was to draw bills on Bengal, a course which had been expressly forbidden by the Supreme Government. In these circumstances the sale of land, although Raffles would have preferred to wait till the Commission

dealing with the whole subject of land tenure had issued their report, was a measure of absolute necessity. The sale was therefore finally fixed for the 26th January 1813. The advertisement announcing it stated that the sale would take place by public auction, unless the lands were previously disposed of by private contract. It had been the practice under the Dutch for members of Council to become proprietors of land under the colonial regulations, and so Mr Muntinghe, a Dutch gentleman, who in the Council warmly supported the measure, did not deem it wrong to become himself a purchaser. He, however, informed the other members of his intention; and no word of disapproval was expressed by General Gillespie. The circumstances in which the Governor became an owner, under the public sale, are clear enough. Rumours regarding the possibility and even the legality of the sale had been industriously circulated. There was a serious risk lest the result should be a fiasco. In this state of things a Mr Engelhard, a former Governor of Java, and a person of considerable influence, approached Raffles with the view of inducing him to go shares with him in the purchase of some lands adjoining Engelhard's estate. That our hero's conduct was in his own interests foolish cannot be questioned. It is quite plain that he acted more on public than on private grounds; indeed, his actions were directly opposed to his own private interests. He caused the biddings to be run up; by which means the

price was increased thirty or forty per cent. No wonder that 'surprise and mortification' reigned on Mr Engelhard's countenance. Anyone who cares to go through the evidence can convince himself that the whole superstructure of calumny and misrepresentation which Gillespie erected over the original indiscretion of the Governor falls to the ground. But that Raffles's conduct was indiscreet can be proved out of his own mouth, 'Everything,' he declared, 'was open, candid and avowed, except in so far that when I acceded to Mr Engelhard's proposal, I did not allow it to be known, until the lots had been sold, that I had any participation in them, because such a knowledge might have influenced the bidders. and the sale might have been affected by it.' Now, it is pretty obvious that conduct which requires elaborate explanation had best be avoided by men in the position of Raffles. Be this as it may, it gave — or might be feigned to give — Gillespie the opportunity he wanted. In the February following, just at the time when his own conduct was in question with regard to his interference with native rights, he fired off a letter to Sir G. Nugent, wherein he stated that the Lieutenant-Governor and other officials had become 'the joint owners of the rich coffee plantations.' 'The real value of these lands, alienated in perpetuity for an inadequate sum of Spanish dollars,' he alleged to be 'incalculable.' This letter, in effect, accused Raffles of gross

dishonesty, and yet what was Gillespie's subsequent conduct? He did not breathe a syllable of accusation against the Governor in any public manner. On the contrary, he allowed himself to become reconciled to him through the intervention of Captain G. Elliot, a son of Lord Minto. He openly 'cancelled the differences that formerly subsisted between the Lieutenant-Governor and himself, he was much concerned those differences had ever taken place, he had a sincere friendship for Mr Raffles, and would defend the measures of his administration wherever he went.' It was in such terms that he spoke, according to the sworn testimony of men of honour, of the man whom he had already secretly attacked, and against whom he was shortly to bring the most serious accusations.

What may have been Gillespie's intentions when leaving Java it is impossible to say. On arriving, however, at Calcutta he found congenial soil wherein to sow the seeds of mischief. Lord Moira was a soldier, strongly imbued with class and professional prejudices. It was easy to represent Raffles to him as an incompetent civilian who had owed his promotion to private influence. The manner in which Gillespie's charges were dealt with certainly does not reflect credit on the Supreme Government. In the seventeen heads of inquiry, into which they reduced Gillespie's rambling charges, questions of policy and of conduct are jumbled up together. Surely, quite apart from the question of the expediency of the sale of the

Government lands, or the question whether the sale was made in the mode most conducive to the interests of Government, there was the question—whether or not Raffles was a dishonest man who used his public opportunities to feather his own private nest. It might be necessary at some time to sit in judgment on the general question of the Governor's administration, but it was surely proper to keep wholly distinct the specific offences with which he was charged. As Raffles wrote in a private letter:—'Errors in judgment may be found in the complicated administration with which I am entrusted, measures of policy depend in a considerable degree on opinion, and there may be some differences of opinion, perhaps, with regard to those which have been adopted by this government; but the accusations against my moral character must be determined by facts, and on this ground I will challenge my accusers to produce any one act of my government in which I have been actuated by corrupt motives, or guided by views of sinister advantage to myself.' So carelessly and even ineptly was the case drawn up that among the measures that appeared to the Supreme Government especially to need explanation was the imposition of an annual duty of five per cent. upon the paper currency, a measure which was directly enacted by Lord Minto, a fact which should of course have been within the knowledge of the Bengal authorities. The inevitable result of the course of proceeding instituted by the Supreme

Government was enforced delay, than which nothing can be more unfortunate when questions of character are concerned. In the particular case of Raffles it did not so much matter, because no one in Java seriously believed that he had acted dishonestly. Still the delay was most unfair to Raffles himself. In March 1814 he wrote to Mr Ramsay:—'While you are quietly gliding on in the smooth and sunny stream of private life, it is my lot to be tossed on boisterous billows, and to be annoyed with all the clouds and winds which ensue from party spirit. Without family pretensions, fortune or powerful friends, it has been my lot to obtain the high station which I now fill; and I have not been without my due proportion of envy in consequence. After this you will not be surprised at what follows. You are aware of the differences which occurred between me and Major-General Gillespie, and that he in consequence applied to be relieved from the military command. Arriving in Bengal after Lord Minto had left it, he found the new Governor-General unacquainted with all that had previously passed, and succeeded to a certain extent in impressing him favourably in his behalf. He was committed, in the course of some of our differences, by assertions which he had made, and finding that he had succeeded in directing the current of public opinion a good deal against me, he has brought regular charges against both my administration and character. The whole are, I thank God, easy to be repelled; and the closer the

investigation the purer my conduct will appear. . . . My enemies have said much and written much; but in the end truth and honesty must prevail.'

A striking account of the manner in which Raffles received the charges is given by Captain Travers:—'Despatches were received from Bengal communicating to Mr Raffles the unlooked-for and very unexpected intelligence of Major-General Gillespie having presented to the Supreme Government a list of charges against his administration in Java. These charges were of a most grave and serious nature, but Mr Raffles met them like an innocent man. On the first perusal of them his plan of reply was formed; and he answered every charge in the most full, clear, satisfactory manner . . . but it is well worthy of remark that when Mr Raffles had finished his answer to the charges, he handed the whole to General Nightingall to peruse, who, having got through them, declared that although (as he declared on his first assuming the command of the forces in the island) it was his fixed intention to have avoided all interference with past occurrences and to have kept clear of any differences which had taken place previous to his arrival, yet after a careful perusal of the documents which had been laid before him, and with a full and firm conviction in his mind of the entire innocence of Mr Raffles of all and every charge brought forward by Major-General Gillespie, he could no longer remain a quiet spectator, and therefore in the handsomest, because unsolicited,

manner he came forward to offer Mr Raffles all the support and assistance in his power to give. At the time when these charges were received, and their reception was a surprise to every person, the Government House at Buitenzorg was quite filled with strangers. A large party, composed of both Dutch and English, had been invited to witness the performance of a play which was got up chiefly by the members of the Governor's staff. During this anxious time, when Mr Raffles had so much on his mind, not a visitor could perceive the slightest alteration in his manner. He was the same cheerful, amiable person they had always found him. At dinner and in the evening he appeared perfectly disengaged, and only seemed anxious how best to promote and encourage the amusement, and contribute to the happiness and enjoyment of all around him.

'When the clear and satisfactory reply was drawn out . . . a proposition was made in Council, and was recommended by General Nightingall, that confidential friends should be sent in charge of copies of these despatches to Bengal, and to England, to meet the *ex parte* statements which were known to be in circulation in both places. Mr Assey, the Secretary to Council, was selected to proceed to Bengal, and as a vessel was then under despatch for England, it was deemed advisable to send me in charge of these despatches, together with a copy of the charges, and the Reply sent to the Supreme Government. Before the vessel

reached England the fate of Java had been decided. Consequently Java and its dependencies ceased to be of any interest to Great Britain.'

Whether, however, Java did or did not remain British, it was none the less necessary that public men accused of grave misconduct should be either condemned or acquitted, yet it was not till the autumn of 1815 that the Supreme Government pronounced judgment on a case the main features of which presented little difficulty. Raffles was deeply hurt that no acknowledgment was received by him of his elaborate defence. A further misfortune happened to him in the untimely death of General Gillespie, who died on October 31, 1814, fighting gallantly at the unsuccessful assault on Kalunga.

When the final decision was adopted it amounted to an acquittal so far as moral guilt was concerned, but no acquittal could have been expressed in a more grudging or graceless fashion. In the preceding May, Lord Moira had expressed himself in a letter to Council in terms of much stronger condemnation. He then in effect pronounced a verdict of 'not proven.' 'As far, therefore,' he wrote, 'as the documents now before Government afford the means of forming a decision, I cannot but concur with your honourable Board in acquitting Mr Raffles in so far as his integrity and moral character may be implicated. At the same time, however, I am of opinion that Major-General Gillespie is entitled to equal consideration, and that Government cannot decide from the papers now before them that the informa-

tion he afforded has been found to be incorrect. . . . The points at issue . . . cannot be said to have been brought to that fair degree of investigation on both sides which alone would acquire or warrant a decision of Government implying the heavy condemnation of either party.' The purchase of land had been 'an act of the highest indiscretion, evincing a perfect ignorance of the principles of government as applicable to our situation in this country, and it would be wrong were I to disguise that it has operated greatly to shake the confidence which I should naturally wish to feel towards a person in his high situation. . . . I must confess that were there not every reason to suppose the colony to be on the eve of passing from our hands, I should have been disposed to have visited the transaction with a public proof of disapprobation, combining this serious error with the frequent instances of mismanagement exhibited in the conduct of the affairs of that government, and more especially in its financial concerns, I should have conceived it essential to the well-being of that colony, as well as to our security in a time of great financial embarrassment, to have proposed the removal of Mr Raffles. . . . With much concern I say that the management of affairs by Mr Raffles in Java appears consecutively injudicious in the extreme.'

In the interval between the despatch of this letter and the final decision of October 17, 1815, the order had arrived from England removing Raffles from the government of Java. Whether the change in tone

is to be ascribed to this, or whether pressure had been applied by the other members of Council, Mr Edmonstone and Mr Seton, the difference in tone between the two documents is very striking. Mr Edmonstone, in his Minute of June 18, declared:— 'Of the integrity of his conduct, of the purity of the motives which regulated his proceedings, of his zealous and laborious exertions in the prosecution of measures which, whatever may be our judgment of them, appeared to him conducive to the interests of the public service, I acknowledge my entire conviction.' Mr Seton expressed himself in similar language. At the same time both were very careful to avoid any approval of Raffles's public measures. 'I am well aware,' said Mr Edmonstone, 'that the possession of Java, so far from yielding the advantages expected to arise from it, has proved a heavy burden on the finances of the parent State. How far this is to be ascribed to the effects of an improvident administration it is not the purpose of this Minute to inquire. The evils of financial embarrassment arising from the internal circumstances of the island at the period of the conquest, the deficiency of specie, the absence of former sources of supply and the defect of an export trade speedily succeeded our occupation of the island. Whether or not they were susceptible of remedy, whether or not, by a more economical system of government and by skilful financial management, the burdens of those evils could have been removed or alleviated, it is not the object of the present discussion to decide.' Mr Seton

wrote 'that Mr Raffles has not succeeded in his endeavours may, I think, be attributed to the exhausted state in which he found the island, to the annihilation of its export trade, to a want of specie, and, under the great disadvantage of these difficulties, to the fatal necessity of engaging in early and expensive wars with the Sultans of Palembang and Djocjocarta.'

Although these gentlemen were obviously more inclined to favour Raffles than was Lord Moira, they concurred in the Minute by which his final judgment was expressed. The letter from home had left it to the Supreme Court to decide whether or not Raffles should be allowed to take up the appointment of Resident at Bencoolen, provisionally conferred on him by Lord Minto, in case Java should be restored to the Dutch. On this point the decision was in his favour, but for us who approach Raffles as a builder of Greater Britain, it is annoying as well as melancholy to note the language in which Lord Moira couched his decision. 'With reference to that part of the Honourable Court's instructions, which relates to the appointment of Mr Raffles to the Residency of Fort Marlborough, the Governor-General in Council observes that nothing has occurred in the course of the deliberations respecting Mr Raffles's conduct to authorise an opinion affecting his moral character, and although he has not succeeded in administering the extensive and important duties of the government of Java with that degree of efficiency which is indis-

pensable to secure the advantages held out by Mr Raffles himself from the possession of the colony, yet there does not appear to be reason to apprehend that Mr Raffles is not competent to acquit himself with due benefit to his employers in the less complicated duties of the Residency at Bencoolen.'

What wonder that when his merits were thus valued Raffles decided to appeal to Cæsar, and to have from the Court of Directors a final judgment pronounced upon his case? It is true that the decision of the Supreme Government had been accompanied by able and exhaustive minutes, by Mr Edmonstone and Mr Seton, of a far more sympathetic character. Still it was the language of the supreme authority to which men would naturally turn. 'Conscious in *his* own mind that his constant study had been to promote, to the best of *his* abilities, the interests and honour of *his* country, and to render the establishment of a British administration in these colonies a memorable era among them in the amelioration and improvement of their population,' he was naturally shocked at the grudging and captious tone of Lord Moira's comments. The final decision of the Court of Directors, which was dated February 13, 1817, was fortunately couched in a wholly different strain. 'After a scrupulous examination of all the documents . . . and an attentive perusal of the Minutes of the Governor-General and of the other members composing the Council, when it was under consideration, we think it due to Mr Raffles, to the interests of our service, and to the

cause of truth, explicitly to declare our decided conviction that the charges, in so far as they went to implicate the moral character of that gentleman, have not only not been made good, but that they have been disproved to an extent which is seldom practicable in a case of defence. It is not now our intention to discuss the expediency of the leading measures of the administration of Java while Mr Raffles presided over the government of the island. The policy of those measures is not only separable from the motives which dictated them, but there are cogent reasons why they should be kept altogether distinct and separate on the present occasion. Before pronouncing upon the financial operations of that Government, we are desirous of fuller information and further time to deliberate on their tendency and effects, as well as on the circumstances under which they were adopted. Were their unreasonableness, improvidence and inefficacy clearly established, this would only indicate error or defect of judgment, or, at most, incompetence in Mr Raffles for the high, and, in many respects, exceedingly difficult situation which he filled. But the purity as well as the propriety of many of his acts as Lieutenant-Governor having been arraigned, accusations having been lodged against him, which, if substantiated, must have proved fatal to his character and highly injurious, if not ruinous, to his prospects in life, his conduct having been subjected to a regular and solemn investigation, and this investigation having demonstrated to our minds the utter groundlessness of the charges exhibited

against him, in so far as they affected his honour, we think that he is entitled to all the advantage of this opinion, and of an early and public expression of it.

'Mr Edmonstone, in his elaborate and able Minute, has taken so comprehensive and just a view of all the acts which constituted the grounds of imputation against the personal character of Mr Raffles, that it is quite unnecessary for us to enter into a detailed scrutiny of the matters, either of charge or refutation. On most, if not all the points at issue, we concur with Mr Edmonstone both in his reasonings and conclusions, and whatever judgment may be ultimately passed on the various measures of the late Government of Java, which underwent review in the course of the investigation into the conduct of its head, we are satisfied, not merely that they stand exempt from any sordid or selfish taint, but that they sprung from motives perfectly correct and laudable. If we notice the circumstance of Mr Raffles having been a purchaser of lands at the public sales on the island, it is for the purpose not so much of animadverting, after all that has passed, on the indiscretion of the act (for it was unquestionably indiscreet) as of expressing our firm persuasion that he has stated, without equivocation or reserve, the reasons which induced him to engage in these transactions, and that they do not at all derogate from those principles of integrity by which we believe his public conduct to have been uniformly governed.'

CHAPTER VII

THE GOVERNMENT OF JAVA (1811-16)—*concluded*

Policy as to Eastern Islands—Treatment by Home Government—Japan—Measures as to Slavery—Opium—Question of Retention of Java—Dismissal—Death of Mrs Raffles—Journeys to the Eastward.

It has already been noted that Raffles had recognised from an early date that the interests of the various islands of the Eastern Archipelago were closely connected with each other. In his letter to Lord Buckinghamshire, of August 5, 1815, Raffles states :—'It will be found that on the first establishment of the British dominion in these seas, it was contemplated to place the Moluccas and the general control of the Eastern Archipelago in the hands of the Java Government. Acting under this impression, our attention was directed to the re-establishment of the out-stations, the general suppression of piracy, and the introduction of that system of wholesome control which had of late been wrested from the hands of our predecessors. Military expeditions became necessary ; and expenses for the benefit of trade and the British interests in general, and altogether foreign from what would have been

demanded for the internal management of Java, also were of necessity incurred.' In fact, however, the Moluccas had become a Crown colony in 1810, and it was impossible to find within the four corners of our hero's commission the extensive powers which he claimed. Raffles considered (*see* Minute on Piracy of September 8, 1814) himself as 'continuing to act' in the cases of islands not directly connected with Java 'in my capacity as political agent for the Governor-General with the Malay States.' He put in practice, though probably he did not know, the good old legal maxim, *boni judicis est ampliare jurisdictionem.* It must be admitted that in dry law his contention could not be sustained. Be this as it may, there was no question as to the wisdom of his advice. 'I cannot hesitate to record my opinion that it is more consistent with the honour, character and interest of the British nation and of the East India Company in particular, and at the same time most conducive to an improvement in the condition and happiness of the natives of these islands, and to the interests of commerce and prosperity, that these States shall continue to be separated from the political life of Java. . . . Shall we not avail ourselves of the present opportunity afforded by the possession of Java to establish a permanent and preponderating influence in these seas, an influence that may not be affected by the political fate of Java, and will at all times insure to British trade the commerce and advantages of the eastern islands?' Raffles was preaching to deaf

ears. The East India Company had got quite enough trouble and responsibility with the care of India itself, and was in no mood to consider far-reaching views with regard to the Far East. The active interest of Raffles's despatches lay in the opportunity they gave to snub the over-zealous Governor for exceeding his authority. Much correspondence took place over an expedition against Sambas in Borneo. In this particular case, however, Raffles was able to show that he had only acted at the request of the Imperial naval authorities. Nevertheless, Raffles had interfered with the internal concerns of Borneo, and so in the letter to the Supreme Government, May 5, 1815, announcing his dismissal, so often referred to, we read that the Court are 'especially pleased to find that you have annulled the engagements entered into by the Colonial Government with the native chiefs of Borneo.' In another matter with which the Java Records in the India Office are much concerned, Raffles was acting strictly within his legal rights. The Batavian Government had possessed a monopoly of the European trade with Japan. It was true that of late years this trade had sunk to very small proportions, and, in fact, had been discontinued for four years, but Raffles insisted that 'the trade heretofore carried on with Batavia forms no criterion by which the extent and value of the trade is to be judged, when a more liberal and upright policy is pursued. It was just as extensive as it suited the personal interest of the Resident to make it; but on a different

system it may be contemplated that its importance will not fall short of that which is now attached to China. A British factory once established, that of the Dutch would be superseded for ever. The demand for woollens and hardware, the staple manufactures of Great Britain, would be unlimited. No prejudices are to be surmounted; the climate and habits of the people create a want which it would be our interest to supply.'

The mission which was sent in June 1813, consisting of Mr Wardemaar and Dr Ainslie, was partially successful. The trade was to be continued, but was at first to be carried on under the Dutch name. The action of the Supreme Government, however, in refusing its approval to these arrangements, nipped the scheme in its bud. On this subject, which appealed especially to men of business, the Court of Directors were inclined to agree with Raffles and not with Lord Moira. Though their expectations of benefit from this trade were not great, they would have been 'disposed to regard with approbation any fair attempt' towards its establishment.

An attempt has been made to deal—though in summary fashion—with the leading measures of Raffles with regard to the administration of justice and the tenure of the land. Some other measures of his government must be noticed. Although it was manifestly impossible consistently with recognised rights of property to emancipate the slaves found in Java at the time of the conquest, regula-

tions were at once instituted which greatly mitigated the evils of the system. The duty on the importation of slaves was doubled, and no child could be imported under the age of fourteen. An annual registry of slaves was taken, and slaves not registered within a certain time were declared free. Raffles tells how a native chief who had inherited fifty domestic slaves proudly said, 'Then I will not register my slaves; they shall be free; hitherto they have been kept such, because it was the custom, and the Dutch liked to be attended by slaves when they visited the palace; but as that is not the case with the British, they shall cease to be slaves; for long have I felt shame, and my blood has run cold when I reflected on what I once saw at Batavia and Samarang, where human beings were exposed for public sale, placed on a table, and examined like sheep and oxen.'

On the proclamation of the British Statute declaring the further traffic in slaves to be felony, that Act with all its provisions was made a colonial law. In other respects Raffles sought to ameliorate the position of the slaves. They were no longer to be considered as objects of real property, but as the possessors of personal rights, bound only to unlimited service. The powers of masters were strictly limited, and wrongs done to slaves treated as other wrongs. Slaves were given the right of acquiring separate property, and enabled to purchase therewith their liberty after seven years' service. These alterations in the law were submitted to

the Supreme Government, but they had not received its approval at the time of the restoration of the colony to the Dutch.

On another subject we find Raffles anticipating the trend of subsequent philanthropic thought. He was the first public man to recognise the evils inflicted on the population by the abuse of opium, and in August 1815 we find him proposing police regulations for prohibiting its introduction and retail in any districts of Java except the towns of Batavia, Samarang and Sourabaya.

To do justice to our hero's labours, it is necessary to emphasise at the risk of repetition the precarious nature of the British occupation. We have already noted the 'hesitation' which led the superior authorities to shirk any kind of responsibility. From the draft of a letter in the India Office from Lord Bathurst, dated October 26, 1813, it would seem that it had been at last definitely decided to convert Java into a Crown colony. The Supreme Government appeared as ignorant of the intentions of the Home Government as were their subordinates. Indeed, this was inevitable when confusion and doubt everywhere prevailed. Raffles himself did not always use the same language. Thus, in February 1814, he writes of the island being given up at a peace to a foreign power, 'which God forbid,' while, in the following July, he says, 'If I were to believe that the Javanese were ever again to be ruled on the former principles of government, I should indeed

quit Java with a heavy heart; but a brighter prospect is, I hope, before them. Holland is not only re-established, but, I hope, re-united. . . . I will hope that the people of Java will be as happy, if not happier, under the Dutch than under the English. I say happier, because Java will, in importance, be more to Holland than she could ever be to England; and the attention bestowed by the one country must naturally be greater than that likely to be afforded by the other.' After Napoleon's return from Elba, Raffles was for a moment filled with the hope that after all Java might remain British. Unhappily personal consideration soon forbade that Raffles should be an unbiassed judge when the East India Company was concerned. His old friend and patron Mr Ramsay retired on a pension in 1813, and his successor, rightly or wrongly, was believed by Raffles to 'possess neither heart nor soul' and to be 'self-interested in every act.' As the clouds arising from Gillespie's charges gathered round him, Raffles was assailed by a fresh misfortune. Lord Minto died, whom Raffles regarded as his only 'shield and support.' 'It is a thousand to one now,' he bitterly adds, 'that Lord Moira's party carries the day for a time.' Lord Moira is described in the same letter as 'disappointed of the patronage of Java, opposed to all Lord Minto's arrangements, and possessing strong prejudices.' In May 1815 the Court of Directors launched the final thunderbolt which pronounced a curt dismissal. Altogether, apart from the Gillespie

accusations, 'we cannot but lament that the just and accurate views of political and commercial economy which have served to detect the numerous errors that have been committed by the Lieutenant-Governor were not directed to the prevention of acts which have rendered the occupation of Java a source of financial embarrassment to the British Government.' Smarting under unmerited censure, Raffles somewhat naïvely announced himself (August 1815) 'so disgusted with the proceedings of the Supreme Government that I have at once invited the King's Government to assume the administration of Java. . . . I have previously stated my wish to be appointed political agent on the part of the British Government for the Eastern Seas. . . . I think I would manage in long that my Empire —taking roots in Sumatra—shall soon extend its branches through the Eastern Islands, and though secondary in the commencement, should in the end become supreme.'

As the tone of the above may sound somewhat boastful, it is but fair to set beside it the words written on the same day to Lord Buckinghamshire. Urging the benefits to be derived from the retention of Java, he adds:—'I shall stand excused from the narrow views of personal interest when I declare that I shall have no inclination to accept, were it offered, the charge of such an adminstration as I shall venture to propose. It will require a person of high rank, either noble or military, and I have had too much experience already of the injuries which

accrue from the want of that high rank. These injuries, as far as they might affect private comfort or what may be termed the state of domestic mind, are little heeded, for I feel myself superior to them; but the public interests suffer when exalted rank does not accompany exalted station.' Be this as it may, the tone adopted by Raffles was not such as to win the sympathies of a Secretary of State. It showed little knowledge of the official mind to declare (letter to Lord Buckinghamshire, October 11, 1815) that it was 'scarcely possible to conceive a greater degree of injustice than what I have received at the hands of the Earl of Moira.' The truth was, as Raffles himself had already written (letter to Ramsay, September 1815): 'She' (Java) 'cannot longer be kicked about from one place and authority to another like a shuttlecock. The Court of Directors will not interfere, the Ministers will not interfere, the Government of Bengal will not now interfere, but all hands will no doubt unite if there is anything with which to find fault.'

Apart from his private grievances, concern for the public weel was troubling him sore. 'I cannot get this abominable treaty out of my head. All our interests in this part of the world are sacrificed, and it is not the first time our honourable masters have sacrificed the national interests to support their own jobbing system.' The restoration of Java to the Dutch may be justified on grounds of policy, but the manner in which no attempt was made to safeguard the interests of the native rulers who had trusted to

British protection reflected disgrace upon England, and led to much subsequent trouble.

While Raffles was thus being harassed by public cares, a more intimate grief had assailed him. In November 1814 Mrs Raffles was seized with a sudden illness and died within a very short time. What the widower felt is best seen by the pathetic words written more than a year later in replying to the address presented, on his leaving Java, by the members of his staff. 'You have been with me in the days of happiness and joy, in the hours that were beguiled away under the enchanting spell of one, of whom the recollection awakens feelings which I cannot suppress. You have supported and comforted me under the affliction of her loss.' Great as was his grief, there was in him a power of rebound which prevented his dwelling exclusively upon the past. He well described himself (October 18, 1815) as 'a widowed wretch and yet not cast down . . . my spirits are uneven, and I am either the enthusiast or the despondent.' In the preceding March he ascended the mountain Gunung Gidi, 'which I accomplished with some difficulty. . . . We had a most extensive prospect from the summit. . . . I think we may say that we had nearly within our range all that part of the island which by the former Government was *not* called *Java*.' A little later Raffles undertook a tour to the eastward through the interior and mountainous parts of the island. On a single day he travelled fifty miles through unknown forest. 'The path was frequently undistinguishable. In some

places it lay over steep mountains, and in others followed the courses of rivers, or wound through the mazes of deep ravines.' One of the attendants was nearly torn to pieces by a tiger. The scenery was lovely, and the journey gave Raffles 'the opportunity of examining in person those stupendous monumental remains of a hierarchy, long since obsolete, which are promiscuously scattered through all parts of the island. They consist of ruins of Hindu temples and of images, sculptures and inscriptions. . . . Many of these had been previously surveyed and delineated, under his orders, by proper officers; but his personal examination was required to enable him to determine the accuracy of their plans and delineations, and to add those practical details which will give full authenticity to the descriptions. . . . On his further route to the Eastward he also inspected the remains of Majapahit.' 'Various details,' Dr Horsfield adds, 'on particular ruins were likewise communicated to the Lieutenant-Governor by his friends, from which collectively he has been enabled to give in the 9th chapter of the *History of Java* those copious details, accompanied by beautiful illustrations, which add a peculiar interest to his work, enhanced by the consideration that during the short period of the British possession of Java these stupendous remains of antiquity . . . were either discovered or rescued from the obscurity in which they had been buried for many centuries.' At the close of 1815 Raffles was again summoned to the Eastward by the discovery of a conspiracy among the Sepoys serving at the Emperor's Court. The rapidity

and vigour of Raffles's action rendered the movement abortive, while, in the special circumstances of the case, the mildness with which he treated the offenders was doubtless justified.

Meanwhile our hero's health was seriously affected. 'Anxiety,' Raffles wrote towards the end of 1815, 'soon pulls a man down in a hot climate.' According to Lady Raffles, 'Mr Raffles was occupied constantly from four in the morning until eleven or twelve at night.' Not only did he work for long hours, but he worked with extraordinary rapidity. He frequently dictated to two persons whilst engaged in writing letters himself, and he required three clerks to copy and keep up with what he wrote. Considering the original delicacy of his constitution and the strain to which it was subjected; considering, moreover, the debilitating character of the climate, and the grief and worry which came on the top of work, the wonder is not that Raffles broke down but that he showed such rallying powers. It does not speak well for the generosity of his enemies in Leadenhall Street that among the charges carefully treasured against him was that he took home with him without leave the Government medical officer, Sir Thomas Sevestre. The state of the Governor's health made it out of the question that he should proceed, on the arrival of his successor, Mr Fendall, direct to Bencoolen, and so he decided to visit the Cape of Good Hope, and, if necessary, England, before entering upon his new duties.

Unjust as may have been our hero's curt dismissal,

it involved no bad consequences to British interests. The restoration of Java had been decided and was irrevocable. In these circumstances it was well that the business of formally handing over the Dutch possessions should be entrusted to one less hostile to Dutch pretensions than was Raffles. If British interests were for the time sacrificed in the Eastern Archipelago the fault lay with the treaty of 1814 and the British statesmen who had signed it; Mr Fendall, in a very difficult position, appears to have done all that could be done on behalf of the natives' interests, and endeavoured ably and loyally to carry through the policy of Raffles.

CHAPTER VIII

REVISITS ENGLAND AND IS 'LIONISED' (1816-17)

Voyage Home—Interview with Napoleon—Life in London—*History of Java*—Friendship with Duchess of Somerset—Second Marriage—Tour on Continent—Returns to the East.

At the time of his return to England in 1816, Raffles had hardly reached to middle age. And yet in many respects he was already an old man. He had tried a delicate constitution to an extraordinary degree, and already laid the seeds of premature death. Successful as had been his general administration, he had freely drunk of that cup of disappointment and disillusion which too often in the past was wont to attend the officer whose business was to bear 'the insolence of office, and the spurns that patient,' or impatient, 'merit of the unworthy takes.' Raffles embarked on March 25, 1816, and reached Falmouth on the 11th of July. Rest and change of climate soon restored him to partial health. 'Although I am considerably recovered,' he writes to Ramsay, 'I yet remain wretchedly thin and sallow, with a jaundiced eye and a shapeless leg. Yet, I thank God, my spirit is high and untamed, and the meeting of friends will, I hope, soon restore

me to my usual health.' 'I return to you, however,' he adds, 'a poor solitary wretch.'

The only interesting event in the voyage home had been the landing at St Helena, and an interview with Napoleon. Leave to see the ex-Emperor was with difficulty obtained, and Captain Travers gives a vivid description of the feelings of the party whilst still in uncertainty on the question. At our hero's suggestion, the time was employed in each committing to paper his feelings at the moment. The verses composed by Raffles were preserved by Captain Travers, but as even the piety of Lady Raffles does not give them a place in the memoir, it may be conjectured that the gods had not added the gift of poetry to the numerous gifts of our hero. More interesting is Captain Travers's description of the interview. 'On our approaching, Napoleon turned quickly round to receive us, and taking off his hat put it under his arm. His reception was not only not dignified nor graceful, but absolutely vulgar and authoritative. He put a series of questions to Mr Raffles in such quick succession as to render it impossible to reply to one before another was put. His first request was to have Mr Raffles's name pronounced distinctly. He then asked him in what country he was born? How long he had been in India? Whether he had accompanied the expedition against the island of Java? Who commanded? And, on being told Sir Samuel Auchmuty, he seemed to recollect his name, and made some observations to Las Casas respecting him. He was particular

in asking the extent of force, and the regiments employed, and then inquired if Raffles delivered up the island to the Dutch, or was relieved by another Governor. He appeared to be acquainted with the value and importance of the island, but put some strange questions to Mr Raffles, such as how the King of Java conducted himself. On Mr Raffles explaining, he seemed most attentive, and then asked whether the spice plantations at Amboyna were doing well, and whether the Spice Islands were to be also restored to the Dutch. He then asked the name of the ship on which we were going home, with what cargo laden, and which was best, Bourbon or Java coffee. All these questions were put with great rapidity, and before replied to he turned round to Captain Garnham and myself, asked our names, and what service we had seen; whether we were ever wounded or ever taken prisoners; how long we had been in India, and several other similar questions. He then again addressed himself to Mr Raffles, and seemed interested with his remarks on Java. He conversed with Sir Thomas Sevestre, and put similar questions to him with those he had put to Garnham and myself. On his making a slight inclination of the head, we prepared to take our leave, and on our making our bow, we parted . . . Napoleon continued his walk, and we returning to the house. During the whole time of our interview, as Napoleon remained uncovered, common politeness obliged us to keep our hats in our hands; and at no time was

it found necessary to give him any title, either of General or Emperor.' No account of this interview has been left by Raffles himself, but the manner in which in later letters we find him speaking of Bencoolen as his Elba, shows how largely the personality of the great Frenchman bulked in his thoughts. What Napoleon thought of Raffles it would have been interesting to know, had not the canker of egotism eaten so deeply into the great Corsican's nature that nothing which did not relate in some way to his own personal fortunes seems in later years to have had any interest for him.

When England at last was reached, 'the day was beautiful, the sun shining bright, the sea smooth'; but what most delighted the travellers was the greenness of the fields. A brief stay at Truro enabled Raffles to go down a copper mine, an occasion on which he foretold the eclipse of Cornish prosperity by the competition of Oriental tin and copper. He reached London on the 16th of July 1816, 'and the next morning he announced his arrival at the East India House. He looked with the greatest confidence to the Court of Directors for ample justice when they were in possession of the facts of his case. The serenity of his temper, the buoyancy of his spirit, and the joyous feeling of returning health, absorbed the recollection of past misery and disappointment in bright anticipations of future reward and happiness.' (Captain Travers).

In spite of anxiety with regard to his treatment

by the Directors, and the private troubles under which he still suffered, there can be no question but that Raffles keenly enjoyed the life to which he was now introduced. We have seen how a nature, singularly susceptible to the delights of life, had been from earliest boyhood rigorously confined to the cares and drudgery of business. Raffles threw himself upon the society which opened its arms to him with the innocent delight of a hard-worked schoolboy who has at last obtained a whole holiday. Only the very sophisticated or the very naïve can enjoy the position of a lion; and Raffles, in spite of his experience, was naïveté itself. It is suggestive, however, of the temper of the time that society did not welcome primarily in Raffles the Governor of Java, the intrepid vindicator of a new India in the Far East. It was as savant that he seems to have been mainly considered, and it was through his friends, Sir Joseph Banks and Mr Marsden, that the doors of the Royal Society were thrown open to him, by which he obtained the valued friendship of the Duchess and Duke of Somerset, and became the welcome guest of Princess Charlotte and her consort, Prince Leopold. The best account of this time is to be obtained from the reminiscences of Sir Stamford's cousin, the Reverend Dr Raffles, from which Mr Boulger gives some very interesting extracts. 'One of his first visits was to his aunt, for they were very fond of each other. He left his equipage, which was a splendid one—and private carriages with rich liveries were not so

common then as they are now, and were indeed a great rarity in the quiet corner of London in which my father lived — and walking the length of Princes Street, knocked at old No. 14, and on the opening of the door, went at once into the sort of parlour-kitchen where my mother was, busied, as usual, about her household affairs. "I knew well," he said, "where at this time of the day I should find you," and taking his accustomed seat in an old armed chair by the fireside, where he had often sat, made her, at once, by his affectionate and playful manner, quite unconscious of the elevation to which he had attained since he had last sat there. "Aunt," he said, "you know I used to tell you, when I was a boy, that I should be a duke before I die." "Ah," she replied, "and I used to say that it would be Duke of *Puddle Dock*," which was a proverb in London at that day referring to a wretched locality in Wapping, and with which aspiring lads, who had great notions of the greatness they should hereafter attain, were twitted. But he had actually attained to far more than a dukedom, having had Oriental kings and regents under him.' In May 1817 appeared the *History of Java*, 'which,' Lady Raffles tells us, 'he completed with his usual quickness. A few sheets were rapidly written off every morning for the printer, and corrected at night on his return from his dinner engagements. It was commenced in the month of October 1816, and published in May 1817.' *C'est magnifique*, the critic cannot but whisper, *mais ce n'est pas la guerre*. The *History of*

Java is interesting as containing first-hand information from a master on the subject and on scientific grounds, but from a mere literary standpoint the less said of the book the better. However, it satisfied the judgment of that great authority, the Prince Regent. On Raffles attending the next levée, we are told that the Regent, while cordially recognising the value of Raffles's services in Java, took the opportunity of thanking him 'for the entertainment and information he had derived from the perusal of the greater part of the volumes.' It was on this occasion that Raffles received the honour of knighthood.

Space forbids to follow the good Dr Raffles in his account of the manner in which Queen Charlotte fished for a present of Javanese furniture, and was gratified; of the jealousy of the Regent of the friendship shown to his daughter. 'Hence the mere *knighthood*, when all expected, as . . . it was richly deserved, a *baronetage*'; of the adroit manner in which Sir Stamford avoided a command of the Regent by putting forward a prior command of the Princess Charlotte. There is one statement, however, of Dr Raffles, which calls for some comment. 'There was no doubt entertained at the time that, if he had survived, he would have been Governor-General of India; while she (Princess Charlotte) would have been but too much delighted to have raised him to the peerage in that capacity.' Now, that Sir Stamford Raffles was, in intrinsic worth and ability, head and shoulders above many a governor-general may be freely admitted, but

that under the complicated system of government, which then prevailed, he would have been a possible man for the post appears more than doubtful. The East India Company was primarily a commercial company, with directors owing primarily commercial obligations to their shareholders. To assist and guide them in the Imperial responsibilities, which had little by little grown upon them, there was the Board of Control, a department of the British Ministry, the President of which spoke in the name of the Secret Committee, which consisted of representatives of the Company.[1] Lastly, there was the Governor-General, who, although termed the supreme government, was of course responsible to both the Company and to the Board of Control. In this state of things the position of the Governor-General was at best a very difficult one. It was absolutely necessary that he should be a man of commanding social and political position, if he was to hold his own with his masters in Leadenhall Street; and even the prestige and distinction of a Wellesley were not strong enough in the long run to resist. But Raffles was possessed of neither political nor social influence. He had already excited jealousy and prejudice in some of his short-sighted employers. Among his great gifts the gift of managing men, at least when they were placed above him, was

[1] See *Sir Robert Peel*, Vol. III. p. 3. Lord Fitzgerald writes (January 12, 1843) :—'Lord Ellenborough has been three times at the India Board. He knows that every line sent by the Secret Committee is written by the President of the Board of Control.'

not always apparent. His political aspirations were as profoundly distasteful to the statesmen of the day as they were troublesome to lookers for immediate gains. The favour of the Sovereign would have been a weak reed indeed on which to rest in the face of the storm of opposition which such an appointment must have aroused. After a study of the records, in which the old rancour seems to give new life to the mouldering pages, the conclusion seems so inevitable that, were it not that Mr Boulger, whose great knowledge of Indian matters must be allowed by all, appears to regard the idea with approval, it would have seemed superfluous to labour the conclusions here put forward.

Among the friendships gained by Raffles during this period of comparative leisure, the most interesting in its results was that with the Duchess of Somerset. The very interesting correspondence between Sir Stamford and the Duchess throws a flood of light, if one may use an expression borrowed from the French, on his most intimate self. A mere man of the world might easily mistake the purport of these letters and detect a kind of platonic philandering, where in truth nothing of the sort was really meant. To silence such cavils it may be enough to say that many of these letters were written soon after Raffles had taken to himself a second wife to whom he was genuinely attached; that Lady Raffles sincerely partook of her husband's feelings towards the Duchess; and that the Duke

of Somerset was no less sincerely attached both to Sir Stamford and to his wife. In fact, there was a sentimental and romantic side to Raffles which is not a little captivating in the case of this world-battered man of action. 'I am absolutely afraid,' we find him writing to the Duchess of Somerset, 'to enter upon the romantic, as I could easily prove to your Grace that you were not mistaken in supposing me a little given to such indulgences. I have great difficulty in keeping myself steady, and, if I were once to trust myself afloat in such a bewitching world, I fear that I should never again be fitted for this everyday scene.'

Sir Stamford's second wife, to whom he was married in February 1817, was a Miss Hull, who appears to have been a friend of his favourite sister, Mary Anne. 'You will, I doubt not,' Raffles writes to his cousin on February 23rd, 'approve of the change I have made in my condition in again taking to myself a wife; and, when I apprise you that neither rank, fortune nor beauty have had weight on the occasion, I think I may fairly anticipate your approval of my selection. The lady, whose name is Sophia, is turned of thirty; she is devotedly attached to me, and possesses every qualification of the heart and mind calculated to render me happy. More I need not say.' The announcement is not too happily expressed, a little recalling Touchstone's introduction of Audrey; but in fact no married life could have been happier than that of Sir Stamford and Lady Raffles, and

most loyally did he return the love and devotion with which he was enshrined. In the spring of the same year Sir Stamford travelled for six weeks upon the Continent, visiting France, Belgium, Switzerland, Savoy and the Rhine. In France he noted that the Bourbons did 'not appear to me to have advanced a single step beyond that of a footing. They are in office, and that is all.' In his admiration for the system of peasant proprietors he anticipated the verdict of later economists. 'For the greatness of a country it may be an object that the greatest possible quantity of produce should be brought to market; and those who are for raising a nation maintain that this can only be effected by large farms and the outlay of capital. The philanthropist, however, and even the philosopher, will hesitate before he sacrifices everything to the greatness of the nation; unless its happiness goes hand in hand with its greatness, he will think the latter but of little value. Now, when I see every man cultivating his own field, I cannot but think him happier far than when he is cultivating the field of another. Even if he labours more, that labour is still lighter which is his pride and pleasure, than that which is his burden and sorrow. . . . I like to see fruit trees growing among the corn, because it not only affords a refreshing and beautiful scenery, but because it reminds me of those patriarchal times, those days of simplicity when the son and grandson, and even the great-grandson, honoured the trees that their

forefathers had planted. Upon the whole I cannot but think that, notwithstanding agriculture as a science may be almost unknown in France, and that France as a nation has been greatly impoverished both in men and money, there is a foundation in the present state of her land and peasantry to support a much greater nation than France ever yet was; all now depends upon the wisdom of their Government and the fortunes of her politics.'

The tour fitly concluded with a visit to the King of the Netherlands, with whom Sir Stamford dined. 'They were very communicative regarding their Eastern Colonies; but I regret to say that notwithstanding the King himself and his leading ministers seem to mean well, they have too great a hankering after profit, and *immediate* profit, for any liberal system to thrive under them. They seem to be miserably poor, and the new Government in Java have commenced by the issue of a paper currency from every bureau throughout the island; formerly you will recollect that paper money was confined to Batavia, it is now made general, and will, I fear, soon cause all the remaining silver to disappear. The King complained of the coffee culture having been neglected, and expressed anxiety that he should soon have consignments; and while he admitted all the advantages likely to arise from cultivation, and assured me that the system introduced under my administration should be continued, maintained that it was essential to confine the trade, and to make

such regulations as would secure it and its profits exclusively to the mother country. I had an opportunity of expressing my sentiments to him very freely, and, as he took them in good part, I am in hopes that they may have had some weight.'

It has been already seen that even Lord Hastings, in his hostile Minute of October 17, 1815, considered himself 'bound in justice to leave unshaken the reserved appointment of Mr Raffles to the situation of Resident at Fort Marlborough.' The subsequent decision of the Court of Directors finally and fully absolving Raffles from any stain upon his moral character rendered it no longer necessary to delay taking up the duties of his new position. The Court of Directors, 'in consideration of the zeal and talents displayed during the period he filled the office of Lieutenant-Governor of Java, conferred upon him the title of Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen as a peculiar mark of the favourable sentiments which the Court entertained of his merits and services.' At this time Raffles had several private conferences with some of the most influential of the Directors, and appears to have gathered from them that his policy in the Far East would be allowed to prevail. He was instructed to communicate directly with the Directors with regard to the actions of the Dutch, so that he might well suppose that his position was something more than that of a mere Resident at a commercial station.

'The delightful misery of saying good-bye' cost Raffles many a pang; especially was the parting

felt from his kind friend the Duchess of Somerset. To her care were entrusted a Javanese cow and calf, for whose well-being he felt the keenest solicitude. Starting from Portsmouth in October 1817, the *Lady Raffles* was driven back to Falmouth by contrary winds. Falmouth they found 'almost at the Land's End, and so far removed from the source of general information that we are quite in the dark as to what is going on in London. The newspapers are two and even three days old.' Sir Stamford spent his time in making a study of Cornish tin mines. At Falmouth Sir Stamford received the sad news of the lamented death of Princess Charlotte. At last, on November 19, they were fairly off. 'And now I must say good-bye in earnest, for the wind is decidedly fair and promises to continue so.' Sir Stamford adds, 'The large dog is in high health and spirits, my plants and particularly the Berry strawberries quite thriving, and also my little birds singing round me. . . . To-morrow I mean to exert my handy work at butter-making after the knowledge I obtained at Berry.' Brave words, but as Sir Stamford was 'never well on shipboard, and would cheerfully exchange my present berth for an upper apartment in the King's Bench,' the butter-making probably did not come to much. Lady Raffles, however, is careful to note that 'Sir Stamford never relaxed his occupations; he regularly devoted his mornings to study; and only allowed a small portion of the day to be occupied in the idle exercise of walking on the deck.' 'A beautiful young lady,'

Raffles writes to his sister, Mrs Flint, 'made her appearance while we were in the southern latitudes, but, although we were afterwards six weeks at sea, neither child or mother suffered inconvenience. Never was such a pair of darlings.' Considering this event, it is amusing to note the more than Roman dignity with which Lady Raffles severely ignores this generally important incident of family life, and writes:— 'The passage was long and tedious—five months without any object to vary the scene, relieve the eye, or divert the mind from the contemplation of what has been called *the one great monstrous idea*.' It was not that she was less the mother, but that she was more the wife—a wife, moreover, whose unhappy idea of writing a biography was to insert masses of political information, which could easily be obtained elsewhere, and severely to ignore all those human touches which alone enable the dry bones of the past to live again.

The new arrival, at the suggestion of a Javanese chief who had accompanied Raffles to England, received the name of the Lily of the Sea (Tunjong Segára) in addition to the names Charlotte Sophia.

CHAPTER IX

BENCOOLEN (1818-24)

First Impressions—Measures of Reform—Emancipating Slaves—Policy with Regard to Natives—Promotes Agriculture—Approval of Planters—Schools for Native Children—Treatment of Convicts.

SIR STAMFORD arrived at Bencoolen on March 22, 1818. The place had been just devastated by an earthquake, and the first impressions were far from favourable. 'This is, without exception,' he wrote to Mr Marsden, 'the most wretched place I ever beheld. I cannot convey to you an adequate idea of the state of ruin and dilapidation which surrounds me. What with natural impediments, bad government, and the awful visitations of Providence which we have recently experienced in repeated earthquakes, we have scarcely a dwelling in which to lay our heads, or wherewithal to satisfy the cravings of Nature. The roads are impassable, the highways in the town overrun with rank grass, the Government House a den of ravenous dogs and polecats. The natives say that Bencoolen is now a *tána mati* (dead land). In truth, I never could have conceived anything half so bad. We will try and make it better,



EASTERN ARCHIPELAGO TO ILLUSTRATE RAFFLES'S ADMINISTRATION.

and if I am well supported from home the west coast may yet be turned to account. You must, however, be prepared for the abolition of slavery, the emancipation of the country people from the forced cultivation of pepper, the discontinuance of the gaming and cock-fighting farms, and a thousand other practices equally distasteful and repugnant to the British character and government. A complete and thorough reform is indispensable, and reductions must be made throughout.'

In sober truth, the state of things Raffles found about him was such as might cause an honest Englishman to blush. The condition of the Government slaves was most deplorable. 'The women living in promiscuous intercourse with the public convicts for the purpose (as I was informed by the superintendent) of "keeping up the breed," and the children living in a state of nature, vice and wretchedness.' Most meet and right was it that our hero's first public act should have been the emancipation of these unfortunate creatures. Look where he might the picture was dark enough. The revenue, such as it was, was the outcome of vice or of tyranny. In his first despatch from Sumatra (April 10, 1818), Raffles points out 'the withering effect of the system of forced deliveries.' Perhaps nowhere in the history of dependencies had the precept 'how not to do it' been more carefully followed than in the management of Bencoolen. Started as a commercial factory, and only continued for commercial purposes, this precious station had

entailed upon the Company an annual deficit of nearly £100,000. On the first establishment of settlements in Sumatra the East India Company bound down the native chiefs to compel their subjects each to cultivate a certain number of pepper vines, the produce to be delivered to the Company's agents at a price below the cost of the labour employed in the cultivation. With the appearance, however, of English officials, the influence of the chiefs naturally waned, and the agents of the Company became themselves obliged to exact the enforced labour. In 1801 a new departure had been made. Wearied with the continual drains on their resources, the Court of Directors ordered a large reduction of the staff, and the abandonment of the out-stations. Unfortunately, the old system of enforced labour was not at the same time abolished, the out-residences being, in fact, farmed out to such as undertook to furnish from them the largest amount of pepper at a given rate. The result was to be seen 'in the ruinous effects which have resulted from a disinclination to exercise supremacy for the moral improvement of the people, while at the same time its attributes were abundantly assumed for the attainment of a pecuniary profit.' The economies, moreover, of 1801 had been apparent rather than real. In order that the Resident might have an interest in forcing the people to cultivate pepper, he was allowed one dollar per cent. on the quantity he delivered to Government. Insufficient allowances tended to produce an inefficient and dishonest class of

civil servants. Raffles found the resources of the place greatly diminished, while the establishments 'were actually in a progressive state of increase.' There was a deficiency of over $160,000 in the Treasury, which the sub-treasurer did not attempt to explain till he was safely out of the place. That Raffles should have evolved order out of this chaos is in some ways more to his credit than were his more brilliant claims to general recognition. Writing on June 29, 1818, he was able to announce that 'all forced services and forced deliveries of every denomination have been abolished, the cultivation of pepper has been declared free, and the people are now at liberty to cultivate that article or not at their pleasure. All transit duties have been abolished.' The revenue derived from the cock-fighting farms was employed locally, so that their continuance being 'destructive of every principle of good government, of social order, and the morals of the people,' they were promptly put down. The gaming farms presented a greater difficulty, as they were connected with the revenues of Bengal, but these also were suppressed. The emancipation of the Company's slaves took place before an assembly of the native chiefs, to whom Sir Stamford explained the views of the British Government with regard to the abolition generally. The children of the slaves were at the same time assembled at the Government House, and 'as a considerable degree of prejudice existed against them, Lady Raffles at the moment selected one of them, a little bright-eyed girl about eight years, whom she put under the charge of

her European nurse. She proved a most docile, affectionate little attendant,' and Lady Raffles 'on leaving Sumatra had the pleasure of giving her a dower on her marriage.' Care was at the same time taken to consult the native chiefs with regard to the future of the country. All former treaties were by consent annulled, and a free hand thus secured for the introduction of reforms. For very shame the Court of Directors could not refuse their sanction to the measures of the emancipation of the slaves and the abolition of the gaming farms. They expressed their regret, however, at the haste with which Raffles had acted.

As time passed, Raffles became more and more reconciled to his new position. 'We are, upon the whole,' he writes in July 1820, 'as happy a family as you can well conceive . . . so comfortable indeed have we managed to make ourselves that we shall feel regret whenever the day comes that we are to turn our backs on Bencoolen, whether for better or worse.' 'I have fortunately become very popular among them; all classes seem persuaded that I want to make the country, and there is nothing which I wish or suggest which they are not anxious to do.' His active brain had evolved a plan whereby to reconcile the well-being of the people with the withdrawal of European establishments from the several out-stations. In order to insure to the cultivator the direct fruits of his industry, inquiry was made into the nature of the tenure of land, and the conclusion reached that a permanent interest in the soil was not inconsistent with the

native institutions of the country. The Sumatrans, however, were a very different people from the Javanese. They were perhaps a thousand years behind them in civilisation, and, consequently, required a very different form of government. 'In Java I advocated the doctrine of the liberty of the subject, and the individual rights of man—here I am advocating despotism. At present the people are as wandering in their habits as the birds of the air, and until they are congregated and organised under something like authority, nothing can be done with them.' The real remedy, according to Raffles, would have been to establish a benevolent despotism. 'I would assume supremacy without interfering with the just independence; I would be the protector of the native states; I would, in fact, re-establish the ancient authority of Menang Cabau, and be the great Mogul of the island. I would without expense afford employment to twenty or thirty thousand English colonists. In short, what would I not do, and, indeed, what could I not do were I free to act, and encouraged rather than abused?' All this he recognised to be 'visionary.' 'The time has gone by when I had the spirit for it. I have met with so much injustice and ill-usage on the part of the authorities at home that the charm is gone—my confidence is lost. I only think of these changes as what might have been had circumstances been more favourable.' Meanwhile, as a second best measure, Raffles endeavoured to strengthen the positions of the native chiefs, and to throw upon them increased responsibilities. The Government, abandoning the advantage of

the labour of the villagers, also abandoned any obligation of police protection. The land being vested in the chiefs, they were held responsible for public order. Native Courts were to be held by these chiefs, communications with the Government being carried on through the channel of the principal men among them. As Raffles expressed it, 'I have assumed a new character—that of Lord Paramount. The chiefs are my barons bold, and the people their vassals.'

If, however, permanent improvement was to be obtained, it could be only by the encouragement of agriculture. Forests were cleared, morasses drained, and the soil cultivated. Every man was obliged to grow sufficient grain for his own subsistence, and the produce increased by leaps and bounds. 'By establishing a right of property in the soil and giving the preference to the actual cultivator, an extraordinary competition has been excited, and my time is now engaged for many hours in the day in settling boundaries and claims to land, which a year ago may be said to have been without owner or claimant.' Raffles himself had turned farmer. 'My life is at present rather monotonous, not, however, unpleasantly so, for I have all the regular and substantial enjoyment of domestic comfort in the bosom of a happy and thriving family; and in the daily pursuits of agricultural and magisterial duty I find abundance to interest and amuse—but I am no longer striding from one side of India to another, overleaping mountains or forming new countries—I am trying to do the best I can with

a very old and nearly worn-out one, in which I hope, by infusing a new spirit, and encouraging habits of industry and motives of enterprise, much may be done. I am busily engaged in taking a census of the population, and inquiring into the processes of husbandry and the village institutions, and I think you would be amused to see me amid my rude and untutored mountaineers, collecting the details and entering into all the particulars, as if they were the peasants of my own estate' (June 2, 1820). In spite of difficulties, Bencoolen was at last 'thriving, the remedy applied has been efficient, a turn has been taken and a few years' perseverance will make this a new and prosperous country—great it can never be.' At the same time much remained to be done. Raffles was confident that a great opening lay in Sumatra for the cultivation and manufacture of sugar. 'I find that a sugar work may be established here at less than one-sixth of the expense which must be incurred at Jamaica; that our soil is superior, our climate is better, and as we are neither troubled with hurricanes or yellow fever, that our advantages are almost beyond comparison greater. A gentleman has come over from Jamaica, and is establishing a very extensive plantation. He is now engaged in planting the cane, and in about a year hence he will commence his sugar. Watermills have been applied for from Liverpool, and, if the undertaking should turn out favourably—as I have no doubt it will—I trust it will not be long before his example is generally

followed. Coffee and other tropical productions may of course be cultivated here with equal advantages; and considering the present state of capital and labour in England, I cannot help regretting that the public attention is not turned to the advantages which might result from colonising this part of Sumatra. . . . It is here by colonisation, by European talents and Chinese labour alone, that the resources of the country can be brought forward. . . . I much fear the expectations of advantageous colonisation at the Cape will be disappointed. It is sending poverty to feed on poverty, and the most that can be expected by the settlers, after a life of toil and misery, is bare subsistence. The climate, it is true, is more congenial to a European constitution, but this is all. The climate is certainly warm and unfavourable to Europeans, but I believe that I may safely affirm that it is the most pleasant if not the most healthy within the tropics. The principle, however, on which colonists settle here must be very different to what it appears to be at the Cape. Here nothing can be done without capital, everything with it. Capitalists in England must either send out their relatives, or lend their money on mortgage to some active or intelligent partner. Any young man of steady habits and common sense, whose father cannot obtain employment for him at home, but who can advance him from four to five thousand pounds, may thus establish himself and create an estate of three or four thousand pounds a year for his descendants. These principals in the concern would require

under-surveyors, coopers, distillers, writers, etc., and each estate would give employment to several Europeans. The Chinese and natives would be the manual labourers, as the negroes are in the West Indies.' On the wisdom of these suggestions the experienced must decide; but it is quite plain that such colonisation would have done nothing to meet the evil with which the state-aided emigration to Port Elizabeth endeavoured, however feebly, to cope. It is probable that the next sentence of the letter affords the key to Sir Stamford's main interest in the subject. 'Politically, the colonisation of that part of Sumatra which belongs to the British Government would be very important, as it would enable us to make a stand against the Dutch encroachments. They are colonising Java very fast; and, notwithstanding our power on the continent of India, they might easily overrun and occupy to our exclusion every possession between the Strait of Sunda and China.' To return to the more material subject of sugar, the Company showed little interest in Raffles's scheme for further development. When he proposed to add, to the annual consignment of pepper, sugar and spices, they replied, 'You make no distinction between goods bought for commercial principles of profit and loss, and speculations undertaken for the eventual benefit of the settlement on territorial and public considerations' (January 22, 1822). In excuse for the Directors, it may reasonably be supposed that the probable abandonment of the settlement may have been already in their thoughts.

Sir Stamford endeavoured in every way to promote the cultivation of spices. He warmly supported the petition of the planters who urged the removal of the duties in the British market which operated in favour of the Dutch, and entreated that the bar might be removed which prevented the introduction of British capital and immigrants. 'The manifest and declared efforts of the Netherland authorities in this country to injure and destroy by every means in their power the rival produces of Bencoolen are felt in so many shapes and directions that our planters feel themselves under the necessity of applying for the protection of their own government.' They might as well have applied to a rock. The East India Company were not to be persuaded. *Mens immota manet lacrimæ volvuntur inanes.* The planters at least were not ungrateful. A committee of them placed on record that 'the great variety of beneficial changes that has taken place since the commencement of your important administration, and the extraordinary facility with which these changes have been effected has excited the wonder and admiration of everyone, and had circumstances permitted them to have been received with due appreciation by the higher powers, there is no doubt they would have led to results in the commercial world as great as they would have been unexpected.'

The great truth that man cannot live by bread alone was ever in the Governor's thoughts. He strongly urged the building of a new church, pointing out the inconvenience and inadequacy of size of the old

chapel. Schools on the Lancastrian plan were opened for the children of the natives. A Bible Society was started and missionaries encouraged. 'We have already,' Sir Stamford writes to his cousin, 'one young man and a small printing press; but we require active zeal, and I shall find enough to do for all you can send out; but let them make haste—years roll on very fast. . . . There is no political objection whatever to missionaries in this part of the East, and so far from obstructing, they may be expected to hasten and assist the plans which are already in operation.' The natural bent of Sir Stamford's mind was never more clearly seen than in his treatment of the convict question. Bencoolen had been since 1797 a penal settlement to which convicts were transported from Bengal. In one of his first letters from Sumatra, Raffles proposed to offer inducements to good conduct by arranging the prisoners in three several grades. He suggested that the first class should be allowed to give evidence in Court and to settle on land secured to them and their children. The second class should be employed on ordinary labour, while the harder kind of labour was reserved for the third class of incorrigible character. Raffles was able to bring his amended regulations into force in January 1824, but, unfortunately, on the handing over of Bencoolen to the Dutch in the following year, and the transference of the convicts to Penang, the *vis inertiæ* of the Prince of Wales's Island Government reverted to the old system which Raffles had superseded.

CHAPTER X

THE POLITICAL SIDE OF THE BENCOOLEN GOVERNMENT

Extent of his Jurisdiction—Dutch Predominance—General Policy—Protest, August 1818—Case of Palembang—Pulo Nias—Lord Hastings's Minute.

ENOUGH has been said to show with what zeal Raffles threw himself into the cause of the internal well-being of Bencoolen. At the same time he clearly recognised that Bencoolen by itself could never count for much. Whatever general trade or convenience it had recently enjoyed had been due to the temporary possession of Padang, and Raffles was determined in some way to make good this loss. At first he recommended the taking possession of two small islands off the coast of Acheen, 'the British not having one inch of ground to stand upon between the Cape of Good Hope and China, nor a single friendly port at which they can water, refresh or obtain information' (April 12, 1818). He recognised the importance of Simanka Bay, and instructed Captain Travers to visit and report on the proposed boundary between the British and the Dutch possessions. Whatever may have been the rights of the case, the British authorities were not prepared to quarrel with the Dutch about Simanka Bay, and the Supreme Government were of opinion that 'the pro-

posed establishment at Simanka Bay did not present advantages to compensate for the inconvenience of collision with the Netherland authorities.'

Another measure considered essential by Raffles led to more unpleasant consequences. When he left England he had been 'given to understand that at least all the British interests in Sumatra were committed to his charge, subject to the general control of the Supreme Government.' He therefore entered into treaties of alliance and friendship with the native rulers. After an interesting visit to Menangkabu, the ancient capital of the Malay race, which will be described later, finding that the Dutch influence had never extended inland beyond the mountains, Raffles 'did not hesitate to enter into a conditional treaty of friendship and alliance with the Sultan of Menangkabu, as the Lord Paramount of all the Malay countries, subject, of course, to the approval of Lord Hastings.' In so acting, Raffles undoubtedly broke the letter of the law. A statute of George III.[1] had expressly forbidden the making of treaties by authorities subordinate to the Bengal Government. Moreover, Sir Stamford offended the *amour propre* of Lord Hastings, and thus alienated the only possible ally against the pusillanimous policy of the Home Government. There can be little doubt but that his sanguine nature attached too serious a meaning to encouraging words spoken in private conversation. Because he had been invited to send home reports with regard to the doings of the Dutch, and because

[1] 33 Geo. III., c. 52, sec. 43.

he had received the title of Lieutenant-Governor, he considered himself, and, indeed, described himself, as 'representative of the British Government in the Eastern Seas.' By this absence of the wisdom of the serpent, Raffles too often delivered himself into the hands of his enemies. In an account in the India Office Records of his protests against the Dutch proceedings there is added in pencil, 'add by what authority, if by any, Sir S. Raffles assumes the title; *if by none*, as I apprehend, let that be stated.'

Apart, however, from errors of form, the evil against which Raffles was struggling was real enough. 'The Dutch are worse,' he writes in April 1818, 'than I even expected. . . . They do all they can to lower and degrade the British by arresting their persons, firing into their ships.' 'My arrival here,' he adds, 'I understand, created the utmost alarm. . . . They say I am a Spirit that will never allow the East to be quiet, and that this second Elba in which I am placed is not half secure enough. If the Government is not right down mad, ministers and the East India Company must interfere. It will not be long, I think, before we come to close quarters. I am now endeavouring to establish a position in the Straits of Sunda. If I succeed in this I shall soon set up a rival port to Batavia and make them come down to my own terms.' 'Not satisfied,' Raffles wrote about the same time, 'with shutting the Eastern ports against our shipping and prohibiting the natives from commercial intercourse with the English, they have despatched commissioners

to every port in the Archipelago, where it is probable we might attempt to form settlements, or where the independence of the native chiefs afford anything like a free port to our shipping. Thus not only the Lampong Country has been resumed, but also Pontiana and the minor ports of Borneo, and even Bali, where the European flag was never before hoisted, are now considered by them subject to their authority, and measures taken for their subjugation. A commission also long since sailed from Batavia to Palembang to organise, as it is said, all that part of Sumatra; and every native prow and vessel is now required to hoist a Dutch flag, and to take out a Dutch pass from Batavia for one of the ports thus placed under their influence; so that whatever trade may still be carried on by the English with the native ports of the Archipelago must already be in violation of the Dutch regulations, and at the risk of seizure by their cruisers, who have not hesitated to fire into English ships. The commanders of the country ships look to me to protect their interests, and even to support the dignity of the British flag; and it is to be hoped some immediate notice will be taken by our Government of these proceedings. . . . The native chiefs of the independent ports have looked in vain for the protection of the English. They feel themselves deserted by us, know not how to act, and from necessity are gradually falling under the influence of our rivals. The question is not now whether we are to give back to the Dutch the possessions they actually possessed in 1803, according

to the late Convention, but whether the British Government and British merchants will be contented to be excluded from the trade altogether in the same manner as they were before the last century. Nothing less will satisfy the Dutch authorities, who are now at Batavia. They make no secret of it, and openly avow the exclusion of the English, except in Batavia, as the first principle of their policy.'

Our hero's method of meeting this state of things would have been to insist upon a strict interpretation of the terms of the late Treaty; to restore matters to what they were in 1803; but not to yield an inch beyond. A regular and accredited authority was necessary to declare and maintain the British rights, whatever they were; to receive appeals, and to exercise such wholesome control as might be conducive to the preservation of the British honour and character. 'To effect the object contemplated, some convenient station within the Archipelago is necessary . . . and unless I succeed in obtaining a position in the Straits of Sunda, we have no alternative but to fix it in the most advantageous situation we can find within the Archipelago; this would be somewhere in the neighbourhood of Bintang. . . . At the present moment, when the most rigid economy is demanded in every department of the British service, I should perhaps hesitate to propose this measure of extending our positions were I not satisfied that it was absolutely necessary . . . it may be confined to a single commercial station, at which a controlling

authority and two or three assistants would perform all the duties, with a military guard just sufficient to protect the flag and the property of individuals from predatory attacks. The line of stations which I contemplate, should the view I have taken be adopted, would commence from Acheen, and, with the single break of Padang, extend down the west coast of Sumatra to the Straits of Sunda, influencing the whole coast. Another station at Rhio or its vicinity would thus form the connecting link between the establishments on the West Coast and Prince of Wales's Island, and check the Dutch influence in extending uninterruptedly in a chain from Batavia to Banca, as certainly it will soon do without such an establishment on our part. . . . In establishing these stations it will be advisable to proceed with great caution, and gradually. The footing, however, once obtained in the Straits of Sunda, I apprehend all the rest will follow without difficulty. In the defence of our positions, as well as for the maintenance of our respectability and influence, I am of opinion we should look more to a naval than a military force. One or two of the Company's cruisers regularly relieved, and the occasional visit of His Majesty's ships, will answer every purpose, and be far more consistent with our commercial and political character, as well as afford more real security than battalions of soldiers.'

Meanwhile Raffles by himself was powerless to act, but what was possible he did. Upon August 15, 1818, he issued a solemn protest against

the whole proceedings of the Dutch. The particular case of Palembang was chosen as the text upon which to base an indignant attack upon the Batavian Government. Upon the wisdom of this step there may be different opinions. Some will think that unless Raffles was sure of his own Government backing him up, there was some want of dignity in indulging in scolding words when deeds might not promptly follow. In any case the protest would have been more effective had it not been so inordinately long. Raffles's meaning by this action is clearly explained in his private correspondence. He wished to force the hands of the home authorities 'to bring the different questions at issue to a point' and to 'oblige our ministers to come to some immediate understanding with the Dutch authorities in Holland.' 'I was perfectly aware,' Raffles wrote, in the following year to the Duchess of Somerset, 'that they (the ministry) would not like the agitation of the question, but they ought to have been aware that it could not be avoided, and that, however easy it may be in the Cabinet to sacrifice the best interests of the nation, there are spirits and voices engendered by the principles of our Constitution that will not remain quiet under it.' The disgust of the home authorities at the bold move of Raffles can easily be imagined. Never, perhaps, was the spirit of the little Englander more powerful than in the counsels of the Tory ministry, which, with an exhausted Treasury and a discon-

tented people, saw itself confronted with the *mauvais quart d'heure* of Rabelais. Raffles found a loyal parliamentary friend in Lord Lansdowne, but even natural soreness cannot excuse the singularly ungenerous manner in which Lord Bathurst alluded to the past charges against Sir Stamford when asserting that he possessed no political authority whatever.[1] As Raffles bitterly wrote, 'Ministers must be very hard pushed or made of strange materials when they can screen themselves under misrepresentation and falsehood.'

'In fact, as has not seldom been the case in "England's island story," the cause of British interests was closely connected with the cause of humanity at large. The considerations which urged Raffles on in the case of Palembang were moral considerations. It was the blot on the British escutcheon, inflicted by the violence done to the Sultan, who had trusted to the continuance of British protection, which made Raffles to blush. The facts were these: the Dutch had possessed a factory at Palembang, and the Sultan was so far their subject that the proceeds of the port duties went to them. They had, however, exercised no control over the islands of Banca or Billiton. The English had made a treaty with the Sultan, under which he had ceded the possession of Banca and

[1] February 1, 1819, Lord Bathurst stated that at Sir Stamford's own request he had been allowed to have the title of Lieutenant-Governor that he might not 'be placed in a disagreeable situation, as it might appear to many that the charges against him had been thought well-founded . . . but he was expressly instructed to consider himself in fact as merely the commercial Resident, and having no political authority whatever.'

Billiton in return for the recognition of his independency at Palembang, and of the restoration of the port duties. By the Treaty of 1814 between Great Britain and the Netherlands, the Dutch received back all the possessions which they held on 1st January 1803; while, under a separate clause, Banca was ceded to them, in return for Cochin and its dependencies on the Malabar Coast. In this state of things it was maintained that Palembang could only be restored to the Dutch subject to the British Treaty with the Sultan. Mr Fendall, the new Governor of Java, when handing over the Dutch possessions, at first refused to recognise Palembang as Dutch, but finally consented under protest, the subject at issue being forwarded to the European authorities for final decision. At the same time there appears to have been a half promise, on the part of the Dutch, that they would not seek to enforce what they claimed as their full legal rights. However this may have been, the action of the Dutch was, in fact, far from conciliatory. On the strict letter of the law there seems little doubt of the correctness of the Dutch contention. The fault lay with the British plenipotentiaries in Europe. It could hardly be expected that the exalted personages, who, whenever the opportunity arose, sacrificed cheerfully the future interests of their own colonies, should be mindful of the moral claims of a mere native. At the same time, these moral claims were very strong. At Great Britain's desire the Sultan of Palembang had deprived himself of the rich tin mines of Banca, and now he was

bidden once again to lose the port duties, while the means by which it had been possible to find the money for the purposes of government were not restored to him. In his distress, the Sultan appealed to his old friend and ally, Sir Stamford Raffles. Raffles did not hesitate to interfere. He at once despatched Captain Salmond with full authority to defend in every way possible the Sultan's interests. Unfortunately, *beati possidentes*, the Dutch were already in possession with a strong force, and their only answer was to clap in prison the British emissary, and finally to embark him on board ship. The wrath of Sir Stamford may be imagined. To make matters worse, the Dutch Commissioner was the same Mr Muntinghe whom in Java he had found so obliging and deferential a subordinate.

So, too, in the case of Pulo Nias, it was moral considerations which dictated the action promptly repudiated by Raffles's superiors. The English Resident at Tapanuli and Natal had always maintained a small establishment in Pulo Nias, and so Raffles had no hesitation in accepting the sovereignty of the island, when the chiefs of their own accord proffered it. The population appeared to be at least 230,000 souls. 'The whole island is a sheet of the richest cultivation that can be imagined, and the interior surpasses in beauty and fertility the richest parts of continental India, if not of Java. The people, and in particular the chiefs, are active and intelligent, rich and powerful. . . . They have cheerfully entered into our views for abolishing the slave trade, and the people,

and the country in general, promise much.' Pulo Nias had been the headquarters of an active slave trade. 'The unhappy victims, torn by violence from their friends and country, are delivered, pinioned hand and foot, to the dealers in human flesh, and kept bound during the whole course of the voyage. Instances have occurred when the captives have seized a moment of liberty to snatch up the first weapon within their reach, stab all whom they encountered, and conclude the scene by leaping overboard and seeking deliverance from their persecutors in a watery grave!' The population were pagans, and might be converted to Christianity before they had come under the influence of Mahommedanism. In these circumstances, when it is further remembered that Pulo Nias had been the principal resort of French cruisers during the late war, and that its acquisition was necessary to complete the command of the coast from Acheen to Natal, Sir Stamford's course of action was plain enough. The policy he advocated would have entailed little additional expense, and would undoubtedly have been a gain to humanity. The Court of Directors, however, 'had no hesitation in declaring that his proceedings in regard to Pulo Nias were deserving of their decided reprehension . . . they were inclined to visit him with some severe mark of their displeasure for the steps he had taken,' and threatened to remove him from his government.

Although, during the first months of his stay at Bencoolen, Raffles may well have felt in the lonely position of an *Athanasius contra mundum*, the evidence

of his senses soon carried conviction to the one personage with whom, to a great extent, lay the decision of events. It has been seen that Lord Hastings's class and professional prejudices had been at first aroused against Raffles, and that he had not treated him, at the time of Gillespie's charges, with much magnanimity. At the same time, further knowledge no doubt generated increased esteem, and Lord Hastings at least was not influenced by the pecuniary considerations which coloured the views of Leadenhall Street. In a Minute, dated October 25, 1818, written after personal communication with Sir Stamford, Lord Hastings deliberately placed on record that the object of the Dutch was to extinguish our political influence and to exclude our commerce in the Eastern Islands. The Dutch authorities, by possessing the two great passes of communication with China, viz., the Straits of Sunda and the Straits of Malacca, held at their mercy not only British trade with the Eastern Islands, but also British commerce with China. These authorities were no longer the agents of a bankrupt company, but the representatives of a nation rising rapidly into importance.

In this state of things, Lord Hastings recommended the establishment of British influence at Acheen, the occupation of Rhio, the exchange of Bencoolen for Malacca, and, lastly, the purchase of Banca from the Dutch.

So far as Raffles was concerned, Lord Hastings made the *amende honorable* in a letter wherein he wrote :—'It was painful to me that I had, in the course

of my public duty, to express an opinion unfavourable to certain of your measures in Java. The disapprobation, as you will perceive, affected their prudence alone; on the other hand, no person can have felt more strongly than I did your anxious and unwearied exertions for ameliorating the condition of the native inhabitants under your sway. This proceeding was no less recommended by wisdom than by benevolence; and the results have been highly creditable to the British Government.' Lord Hastings continued: 'I request you to consider yourself at liberty to carry into execution your wish to visit Bengal, whensoever your convenience and the state of affairs in the Island may offer an eligible opportunity. The means of rendering the settlement at Bencoolen more advantageous to the Honourable Company than it now appears to be are certainly more likely to be struck out in oral discussion.' The opportunity had at last arrived, and the result of this visit was the foundation of the settlement whereby the road to the Far East was preserved for British enterprise, and an effective blow struck at the Dutch predominance.

CHAPTER XI

THE ACQUISITION OF SINGAPORE (1819)

Visits Calcutta—Instructions for Mission to Eastward—Revised Instructions as to Johor—Arrives at Penang—Colonel Bannerman—Singapore—Starts for Penang—Surveys Carimon Islands—Lands at Singapore—Treaty with Authorities—Appoints Major Farquhar Resident—Indignation of Dutch—Conduct of Bannerman—Decision of Supreme Government—Disapproval of Home Authorities—Postponement of Decision saves Singapore—Raffles on His Acquisition—Mission to Acheen.

SIR STAMFORD arrived at Calcutta early in October 1818. He had every reason to be satisfied with his reception by Lord Hastings. 'I have just returned from spending a week with Lord Hastings,' he writes on November 15, 'and am in high favour.' At the same time the pomp and ceremony of the viceregal court did not please him, and he adds that his opinion of Lord Hastings 'is not the least altered by communion.' So far as his general views with regard to the Eastern Islands were concerned, Raffles was unable to carry the Supreme Government with him. Lord Hastings doubtless knew that, apart from provoking the Dutch, such a policy would never obtain the support of the home authorities. It was, however, determined to keep the command of the Straits of Malacca, by forming establishments at Acheen and Rhio, and Raffles was appointed Agent to the Governor-General for the fulfilment of

these undertakings. 'The protection of our commerce,' and not 'territorial influence,' was the object of the mission. Raffles was enjoined first to proceed to Acheen, and then, after the conclusion of the negotiations there, to carry out the second object of his mission. The first instructions, dated November 28, laid great store upon the value of Rhio. The object of the mission being to secure the free passage of the Straits of Malacca, the port of Rhio was considered most suitable as securing the 'command of the southern entrance of these seas.' (In fact Rhio lies twenty-five miles distant from the track of shipping passing in and out of the Straits, and its harbour, if capacious, is mostly shallow.) By these instructions the authority of Raffles was limited to the establishment of a port at Rhio, and, if necessary, at Lingen in connection with the former. It was presumed that the Dutch had not already formed any settlement at Rhio. 'In the event of their having done so at the period of your arrival you will of course abstain from all negotiation and collision.'

The probability of the Dutch forestalling him had been much in our hero's mind. He writes to Mr Marsden:—'The Dutch may be beforehand with us at Rhio. They took possession of Pontiana and Malacca in July and August last; and have been bad politicians if they have so long left Rhio open to us.' It was fortunate that Raffles was thus persistent, as, by a curious irony, on the very day on which his instructions were signed, a treaty was secured by the Dutch from the helpless ruler of Rhio,

under which they obtained political predominance. In the face of this, the commercial treaty obtained by Major Farquhar at an earlier date became so much waste paper. Meanwhile, doubtless at the suggestion of Raffles, his powers had been enlarged, and the additional instructions of December 5 gave him the same discretion in establishing a connection with the Sultan of Johor as had been already given with regard to Rhio and Lingen. Johor, however, was for the most part an unknown quantity, so that great caution and circumspection were necessary on the part of Raffles. Preliminary inquiry would be necessary both with regard to the local capacities of Johor for a British port, and also with regard to 'the actual political conditions and relations of the state, the degree of independent authority exercised by the chief, his power of maintaining any engagements which he may contract, his relations with other states, especially the Dutch settlements at Malacca and the Government of Siam.' 'There is some reason to think,' the instructions continue, 'that the Dutch will claim authority over the State of Johor by virtue of some old engagements, and, though it is possible the pretension might be successfully combated, it will not be consistent with the policy or present views of the Governor-General in Council to raise a question of this sort with the Netherlandish authorities. You are aware also of the considerations which make the Governor-General in Council reluctant to engage in any measures that will bring us in collision with the Government of

Siam.' The general effect of these instructions was to render possible the foundation of Singapore, though the injunction may be criticised which enjoined the mission to Acheen to be first carried through. In attempting to counteract the policy of an aggressive and truculent power, such as was the Dutch Batavian Government, it was above all things necessary that, whatever was done, should be done quickly, and any delay would have permitted a repetition at Johor of what was found to have taken place at Rhio. Raffles proposed to get rid of the difficulty by sending forward Major Farquhar beforehand, but happily the strongly-expressed desire of the Prince of Wales's Island Government that the whole question of the Acheen Mission should be postponed, pending the reference to Calcutta of important letters, afforded Raffles an excuse for pressing forward in person the other object of his mission. His conduct did not pass unnoticed, and in the letter of August 14, 1819, in which the Secret Committee dealt with the question of Singapore, it is asserted that Sir Stamford's instructions had been unquestionably contravened in the letter by his proceeding to Singapore before he visited Acheen. The wisdom, however, of his action was so obvious that no further attempt was made to censure him for this.

Sir Stamford arrived at Penang on December 31, where he found that a letter had been received from Major Farquhar, announcing that the Dutch had taken possession of Rhio with a naval and military force. Colonel Bannerman, the Governor of Prince

of Wales's Island, regarded with extreme jealousy the mission entrusted to Raffles. He could not forgive the clause in the Instructions which placed the general management of British interests beyond the Straits of Malacca under the Bencoolen Government. He felt for Raffles the personal dislike which transcendent ability generally inspires in those who, in spite of their pretensions, are conscious at bottom of their own incapacity. He had himself failed in his attempt to counteract Dutch influence, and did not desire that another should succeed where he had been impotent. Moreover, he had been seriously impressed by the threats launched in the preceding October by the Dutch Commissioner. It was therefore natural that he should now maintain that it was no longer practicable to execute any advantageous political arrangements with the Malay States to the eastward. Lingen and Johor he was convinced were involved in the fortunes of Rhio. In this state of things he implored Raffles to abandon his undertaking. The reply is striking. 'I am equally convinced with you,' wrote Raffles, 'that it is no longer in the power of the British Government in India to execute among the Malay States generally any political arrangements as a due counterpoise to the influence of the Dutch. These arrangements can only be made in Europe; but it is rather to preserve an opening for the operation of such arrangements, when made in Europe, that I would argue.'

It was not probable that Bannerman would be convinced, and so Sir Stamford was obliged to make

the formal demand for men and material authorised by his instructions. At first Bannerman seemed inclined to refuse on the ground that the object of the mission was now incapable of fulfilment. He was not, in fact, prepared to go to the extreme length of a refusal, though the full number of men demanded was never sent. Sir Stamford took the precaution of writing to the officer commanding the troops in Bencoolen with the request that the companies to be relieved should be brought round by the Straits of Sunda. By this means he was able to prevent serious inconvenience. At the same time, in these proceedings, he appears to have exceeded his authority, and thus laid himself open to the censure of his enemies in the Secret Committee.

Considering the importance of Singapore to the Empire, everything relating to its foundation is of extreme interest. Lady Raffles states that 'even before he left England, Sir Stamford contemplated this, to him, classical spot as a place favourably situated to have a British station.' However apocryphal may have been the history of the past greatness of Singapore, in which Raffles delighted, it abundantly justified itself, if it was the indirect cause of British Singapore. At any rate, as early as December 12, 1818, Sir Stamford had written to Mr Marsden :— 'My attention is principally turned to Johor, and you must not be surprised if my next letter to you is dated from the site of the ancient city of Singapore.' [1]

[1] Captain Ross of the *Discovery* and Captain Crawford of the *Investigator* were sent in 1818 to survey the Straits of Malacca. Captain

In writing to Colonel Bannerman, January 1, 1819, he said :—'The island of Singapore, or the districts of old Johor, appear to me to possess peculiar and great advantages.' On January 16, Raffles wrote to the Supreme Government :—'The island of Singapore, independently of the Straits and harbour of Johor, which it both forms and commands, has, on its southern shores, and by means of the several smaller islands which lie off it, excellent anchorages and smaller harbours, and seems in every respect most peculiarly adapted for our object. Its position in the Straits of Singapore is far more convenient and commanding than even Rhio for our China trade passing down the Straits of Malacca, and every native vessel that sails through the Straits of Rhio must pass in sight of it. The town of Johor is in the main, at some distance up the river, the banks of which are said to be low ; but on the score of salubrity there does not seem to be any objection to a station at Singapore, or on the opposite shore towards Point Romanea, or on any of the smaller islands which lie off this part of the coast. The larger harbour of Johor is declared by professional men, to whom I have been able to refer, to be capacious and easily defensible, and the British flag once hoisted, there would be no want of supplies to meet the immediate necessities of our establishment.'

Raffles embarked on January 19, overtaking Major

Crawford described 'the Singapore islands' as 'of moderate height, but not hilly ; these islands, with the Malay coast, make the old straits.'

Farquhar, whom he had sent on before. The first business was to survey the Carimon Islands, as, although Raffles had already decided that Singapore possessed upon the whole more advantages than any other site, the Carimon Islands had been strongly recommended by Major Farquhar. They found them objectionable as being uninhabited and covered with impervious forests, 'although well situated to give to a strong naval power the command of the straits during war.' The little fleet, which had been strengthened by the addition of two surveying vessels of the Indian Navy, anchored off St John's Island on the evening of January 28. The next morning, in an interview with the Tumung'gung or Resident Governor, Raffles received the welcome news that no claim had been made to Singapore by the Dutch authorities. Johor had been long deserted, and the chief authority over it and all the adjacent islands (excepting Rhio and Lingen) resided at the ancient capital of Singapore. The Sultan of Johor had died in 1810, leaving two sons, the elder of whom should in the ordinary course of things have succeeded to the throne. At the time, however, of his father's death he was away, and the law required that the Sultan's body should be burned by his successor. In this dilemma the Viceroy of Rhio set up the younger brother as Sultan against his will. On the return of the elder, the younger brother sought to retire, but the masterful Viceroy maintained him as a dummy in his own hands. Meanwhile the two hereditary chiefs, whose consent was necessary to a valid election, the Banda-

hara of Pahang and the Tumung'gung of Singapore, remained faithful to the lawful heir, though the opportunity was wanting to press his claims. Raffles at once recognised the advantages offered by this situation. A messenger was promptly despatched to Rhio to summon back the lawful Sultan, while a preliminary treaty was entered into on January 30 with the Tumung'gung, under which leave was obtained to erect a British factory. Major Farquhar was also sent to Rhio to find out whether serious objection would be raised by the Viceroy to a British establishment at Singapore. He returned on February 2, and reported that, although the Viceroy was unable to show overt marks of friendship, the provisions of the Dutch treaty were expressly confined to the post at Rhio. The Sultan arrived at Singapore on February 1, and paid Raffles a visit the next day, on which occasion Sir Stamford explained to him the object of his mission. On February 6 a treaty was executed 'in triplicate by their Highnesses, and by me in the capacity of Agent to the Governor-General.' Under the provisions of this treaty the Sultan agreed to allow the British to erect factories in any part of his dominions. In return, the East India Company undertook to pay the Sultan and Tumung'gung the yearly sums of 5000 and 3000 Spanish dollars respectively. Personal protection was promised to the Sultan so long as he continued to reside in the immediate neighbourhood of any place belonging to the East India Company. The native authorities further agreed neither to alienate any territory to, nor to

enter into any treaty with, any foreign power. All persons belonging to the factory, after registration, were to be considered British subjects. With regard to duties, it was agreed that the Tumung'gung should receive the full moiety of all the amounts collected from foreign vessels.

At the signing of the treaty 'the British flag was hoisted, with a royal salute from our garrison, from all the shipping, and from the Tumung'gung's battery.'[1]

A formal proclamation was issued on the same day appointing Major Farquhar as Resident, and notifying that the Residency had been placed under the government of Fort Marlborough. Farquhar's appointment had been directed by the Supreme Government, but at the time he stood high in Sir Stamford's confidence. In a despatch of over forty pages to the Supreme Government, Raffles explained and justified the acquisition of Singapore. It had

[1] Considerable confusion has taken place as to the exact date of the acquisition of Singapore. Lady Raffles gives the date as February 29, although the letters she quotes prove that date impossible. The authority for this wrong date was really the memorial drawn up by Sir Stamford Raffles himself on his return voyage to England with respect to his services. Unhappily a complete account of the whole transaction perished with the burning of the *Fame*. The Rev. R. B. Raffles was the first to demolish the first date. He himself considers the right date to be January 29. It is true that in writing to Mr Marsden, on January 31, Raffles speaks of the British flag as already waving, but, on the other hand, a private letter, written on the 29th by a member of the expedition, shows ignorance still of its exact object, while Captain Butler of the *Hope*, who passed Singapore on the 31st, 'saw tents pitched on shore, and several vessels at anchor with the Company's colours flying,' but makes no mention of any flag upon the land. As, moreover, Singapore was not *res nullius*, and it was the interest of Raffles to recognise the authority of the Sultan, who did not arrive till February 1, it is not very clear by what right the British flag could have been hoisted so early as the 29th.

been necessary 'to obtain a post which should have a commanding geographical position off the southern entrance of the Straits of Malacca; which should be in the track of our China and country trade; which should be capable of affording them protection and of supplying their wants; which should possess capabilities of defence by a moderate force; which might give us the means of supporting and extending our commercial intercourse with the Malay States, and which by its contiguity to the seat of the Dutch power might enable us to watch the march of its policy, and, if necessary, to counteract its influence.' 'Whether,' he added, 'we may have the power hereafter of extending our stations, or be compelled to confine ourselves to this factory, the spell is broken, and one independent post under our flag may be sufficient to prevent the recurrence of the system of exclusive monopoly which the Dutch once exercised in these seas and would willingly re-establish.'

It was not likely that the Dutch would tamely acquiesce in these doings. In their opinion the Far East was their particular preserve, and Raffles a discreditable poacher. Moreover, they had this further argument. Both the commercial treaty of Major Farquhar and the political treaty of the Dutch had been made with the 'King of Johor, Pahang and dependencies,' and the king named had been the younger brother, whom now Raffles repudiated. Granted that the real principal had been the Rhio Viceroy, still the appearance of a new pretender, just when he was wanted, looked a trifle suspicious. It

was easy for the Tumung'gung to suggest that 'as the Dutch had treated with an incompetent authority, it was still left for us to establish ourselves in this division of the Empire, under the sanction of the legitimate sovereign.' The same astute individual was, however, discovered to have been writing, along with the Sultan, to the Dutch, excusing their conduct on the plea that they had acted under compulsion from the British. Meanwhile they showed no desire to restore the advantages secured by themselves under the treaty. When their intrigues were discovered they signed with equal cheerfulness a fresh document, wherein they stated that their motive in thus excusing themselves had been the fear of the Dutch vengeance. 'But I here call God and his holy Prophet to witness that the English established themselves at Singapore with my free will and consent; and that from the arrival of the Honourable Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, no troops or effects were landed, or anything executed but with the free accord of the Sultan of Johor and of myself.' Meanwhile the Dutch were seriously considering what should be the next move to checkmate Raffles. At first there were rumours that they would resort to force. The Governor of Malacca was reported to have given out publicly that if he could command a force of 600 men he would instantly proceed against Singapore. In fact, however, he contented himself with a formal protest (March 10). On reflection, the Dutch may well have considered that they had nothing to gain by precipitate action. Hitherto they had always

obtained what they wanted, and it was likely that the obsequious Bannerman better represented the views of his London masters than the unruly Raffles. The decision may have been influenced by the diplomacy of Hastings. 'Sir T. Raffles,' he wrote, 'has not sufficiently explained to us why he proceeded to Singapore after learning the extent of the pretensions advanced by your agent at Malacca. A strict attention to our instructions would have induced him to avoid the possibility of collision with the Netherland authorities on any point, and so sincere is our desire to bar the way to any altercations with your Government that the occupation of Singapore has been to us a matter of unfeigned regret. In fact, after being acquainted with the extent of the pretensions advanced on the part of your nation, and before we knew of the existence of a factory at Singapore, we had issued instructions to Sir T. S. Raffles, directing him, if our orders should arrive in time, to desist from every attempt to form a British establishment in the Eastern Archipelago.' But now that Singapore was an accomplished fact it was 'impossible to relinquish our possession on your demand without subscribing to the rights which you claim, and of which we are not satisfied, thereby awkwardly forestalling the judgment which was to have taken place at home.'

In thus expressing himself Lord Hastings was perfectly consistent. Before Raffles started for Prince of Wales's Island a letter had been despatched to him which fortunately he did not receive till too late. In

this the Supreme Government directed him 'to relinquish the prosecution of the measures confided to his management.' The fact that Raffles had clearly annoyed his own superiors rendered the Dutch less inclined to active interference. It is easy for us now to come to this conclusion; at the time the danger of collision seemed great. In this connection it is necessary to dwell upon the attitude of Colonel Bannerman. His untiring efforts to thwart British interests were worthy of a better cause. When the Dutch protest was issued, he forwarded it to Calcutta with a covering letter of approval. When a rumour arrived that the Dutch were preparing to seize Singapore by a *coup de main*, he wrote an abject letter to the Governor of Malacca, wherein he entreated that no measures might be taken pending the reference which had been made to the Supreme Government. 'I am the more induced,' he added, 'to make this appeal to you, as Sir Stamford Raffles is not under the control of this Government, and I am really unacquainted with the nature of the reply he may have returned to your communication of the treaty existing between your Government and the kingdom of Rhio.'

When Major Farquhar, on the receipt of the intelligence that a sudden attack upon Singapore might be expected, applied to Colonel Bannerman for assistance the reply ran as follows:—'The intelligence you have thought it your duty to communicate to me, although very important, you must have been well aware could excite no surprise in my mind, inasmuch as you were personally and distinctly apprised by me,

before you quitted the island, that you were proceeding in an undertaking which was in violation of the orders of the Supreme Government, and which would expose you to a hostile attack from the Netherlanders. . . . Although it is not the province of this Government to furnish you with any instructions, yet a perusal of the enclosed documents may serve to guide your judgment how far you will be justified in shedding blood in the maintenance of your post, and particularly after the communication made to the Netherlanders by the Chiefs of Johor and Singapore, which will certainly induce them to consider every resistance on your part as adding violence to injustice.

'The Honourable Company's cruiser *Nearchus* and hired brig *Ganges* will afford you ample means for removing your party from Singapore, in the event of such a measure becoming, in your judgment, proper and necessary; but I have distinctly to inform you that you must not expect any reinforcements from this Government, until a reply is received from the Governor-General in Council, as it is the decided conviction of this Government that any force from this island could not oppose the overpowering armament at the disposal of the Batavian Government, and could only widen the breach which the late proceedings at Singapore have made between the British and Netherlandish authorities. . . . In conclusion, I must beg particularly to apprise you that, after the receipt of the present information respecting the views of the Governor-General and the sentiments of

this Government, you will not be justified in the measure of shedding blood by pleading hereafter that your honour as a soldier compelled you to make resistance. As a soldier, I must unequivocally declare to you that your personal honour is in no degree implicated in the present occasion to render the shedding of blood necessary' (March 16, 1819). Colonel Bannerman was under the impression that he would be supported in his refusal by the Supreme Government. On the 1st of January he had written that the idea of opposing the Dutch, by founding a rival settlement, was 'another of Sir Stamford Raffles's aberrations,' and had received a reply in which Lord Hastings stated 'that Sir Thomas Raffles was not justified in sending Major Farquhar eastward after the Dutch protested; and if the post has not yet been obtained he is to desist from any further attempt to establish one' (February 20, 1819). On March 16, Colonel Bannerman wrote to Lord Hastings: — 'It must be notorious that any force we are able to detach to Singapore could not resist the overpowering armament at the disposal of the Batavian Government, although its presence would certainly compel Major Farquhar to resist the Netherlanders even to the shedding of blood, and its ultimate and forced submission would tarnish the national honour infinitely more seriously than the degradation which would ensue from the retreat of the small party now at Singapore.'

'Neither Major Farquhar's honour as a soldier, nor the honour of the British Government, can require him to attempt the defence of Singapore by force of arms against the Netherlanders, as he knows that Sir Stamford Raffles has occupied that island in violation of the orders of the Supreme Government, and as he knows that any opposition from his present small party would be a useless and reprehensible sacrifice of men when made against the overwhelming naval and military force that the Dutch will employ. . . . The question is, shall the Governor reinforce Major Farquhar, and invite him to a violent opposition against the Netherlanders? or shall it recommend him rather to evacuate the post Sir S. Raffles has so injudiciously chosen than shed a drop of human blood in its defence? After the knowledge we possess of the views and present policy of the Governor-General; after the information we have obtained of the means used by Sir Stamford Raffles to obtain the island of Singapore; and after the intelligence we have received of the Dutch right to that territory, admitted as it is by the secret correspondence of the chiefs there, I am decidedly of opinion that this Government will not be justified in reinforcing Major Farquhar and inciting him to resist the Hollanders by force of arms. I had fully stated the possibility of a hostile attack from the Dutch to the worthy Major, when he first lost sight of his usual prudence, and allowed himself to be seduced and made a party in Sir Stamford

Raffles's proceedings . . . and although my advice was then little attended to, yet my duty, as well as a considerable portion of personal regard, will not now permit me to withhold from offering it to him again, accompanied as it may be with much responsibility to myself.' Colonel Bannerman stood amazed at his own daring in risking the displeasure of the Dutch by furnishing means to Major Farquhar 'to withdraw the establishment from Singapore, which he otherwise would not and could not have done.' Still he must venture. 'I confess the mortification to me would be infinitely aggravated if I saw Major Farquhar and his detachment brought into this port under a Dutch flag.' The sting of the despatch lay in its tail. The jealousy of Penang against a possible rival, the jealousy of a feeble and mean-spirited official against a builder of Greater Britain inspired his pen. 'However invidious the task, I cannot close this minute without pointing out to the notice of our superior the very extraordinary conduct of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen. He posts a detachment at Singapore, under very equivocal circumstances, without even the means of coming away, and with such defective instructions and slender resources that before it has been there a month its commander is obliged to apply for money to this Government, whose duty it becomes to offer that officer advice and means against an event which Sir Stamford Raffles ought to have expected, and for which he ought to have made an express provision in his instructions to that officer.

. . . He set off for Acheen, and left Major Farquhar to shift for himself. In fact, he acted (as a friend of mine emphatically observed) like a man who sets a house on fire and then runs away.'

It is unnecessary to defend Raffles against the spiteful insinuation thus conveyed, because in leaving the new post after its foundation he was simply carrying out the express order of the Governor-General. Lord Hastings was by no means a blind partisan of Raffles, and he was most anxious to comply with the repeated injunctions of the Home Government that any collision with the Dutch should be scrupulously avoided. At the same time he was the representative of an imperial authority, whose position had not been won by methods such as Bannerman suggested, and he knew that nothing was so likely to endanger peace as any show of the white feather. 'With regard to Singapore,' the Supreme Government wrote on April 8, 1819, 'we say that we think your Government entirely wrong in determining so broadly against the propriety of the step taken by Sir Stamford Raffles. The opposition of the Dutch was not of the nature which we had directed to be shunned under the description of collision. The ground on which Sir Thomas Raffles stood was this: that Singapore was never mentioned in the treaty between the Sultan of Johor and the Dutch. The supposition that it was included in the general term of dependencies is one of these gratuitous assumptions which merit no consideration. We fear you will have difficulty in excusing yourselves should the

Dutch be tempted to violence against that post. The jealousy of it, should misfortune occur and be traceable to neglect originating in such a feeling, will find no tolerance with the Government, who must be satisfied (which is not now the case) that perseverance in maintaining the post would be an infraction of equity, before they can consent to abandon it.' On the receipt of this rebuke Colonel Bannerman, of course, promptly despatched two hundred men, but had the Dutch threats been followed by action, they would have been too late to have been of any use to Major Farquhar.

The final verdict of the Supreme Government on Raffles's conduct in founding Singapore was thus expressed :—'The selection of Singapore for a port is considered, as to locality, to have been highly judicious, and your proceedings in establishing a factory in that place do honour to your approved skill and ability, though the measure itself, as wilfully incurring a collision with the Dutch authorities, which might have been avoided, is much regretted.'

It by no means followed, even now, that the cause of Singapore was gained. Above the petty jealousies of the Prince of Wales's Island and its spiteful Governor, above and beyond the blusterings of Dutch officials, outraged at being hoist with their own petard, even above and beyond the judgment of the Governor-General, there was the final Court of Appeal of the British Government, which assuredly approached the case with no bias in favour of one whom Lord Bathurst had so recently

repudiated in the House of Lords. '*Tantæ molis erat*' to preserve the open door to the Far East, can truly be said by those who have read the despatches in the India Office. About a week before the acquisition of Singapore, a letter had been sent to Bengal, directing that positive instructions should be issued to Raffles, forbidding him from contracting any engagements with the native states in the Eastern seas without first obtaining the approbation of the superior authorities. When the news was received of his mission, the Secret Committee wrote expressing disapproval both of the employment of Raffles and of the measures contemplated. It is, however, to the despatch of August 14, 1819, that we must look to learn the reception given to the news of the acquisition of Singapore. 'A definitive judgment,' wrote the Secret Committee, 'upon the conduct of Sir T. Stamford Raffles in respect to Singapore must be delayed until the receipt of the Governor-General's opinion as to the manner in which his Lordship's instructions have been executed, more especially as the objections founded by the Governor-General on the written instructions in question were answered by Sir Thomas's assertion that he was wholly entrusted with discretionary powers; an assertion which brings to mind one of a similar sort as to the tenor of the communications made to him in conversation before he left England. With respect to the written instructions furnished to Sir Thomas by the Governor-General in Council, they have un-

questionably been contravened both in letter and in spirit; in the letter, by his proceeding to the eastward before he visited Acheen, and by communicating privately with the King of Acheen before he went to the seat of the Acheenese Government; and, in spirit, by risking a collision with the Dutch in the Straits of Malacca. The false steps taken by Sir Thomas in concluding treaties with the chiefs of Sumatra, in instigating a spirit of resistance to the Dutch, and in assuming the title of Agent to Great Britain in the Eastern seas, rendered doubtful the expediency of employing him at all in any negotiation or undertaking in the Eastern seas. No time is to be lost in disavowing the treaties concluded by him with the chiefs of Sumatra; and if Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles should evade an order to this effect, the duty of disabusing the said chiefs must be confided to the Government of Prince of Wales's Island. His Majesty's Government were about to propose an amicable discussion with the Netherland Government . . . when intelligence of the acquisition of Singapore arrived. If the discussion is to be interrupted by the intelligence of fresh feuds and violence in the Eastern seas, it seems quite hopeless to begin the work of amicable adjustment . . . if the Dutch should forcibly expel our garrison at Singapore, we must either submit in silence, or demand reparation at the hazard of a war which may involve all Europe. . . . The doubt stated by the Government of Prince of Wales's Island as to the competency of the East India Company under the new charter to make conquests to the

southward of the Line is considered as being well founded.[1] Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles cannot presume to suppose that he has been empowered by His Majesty's Government to make such acquisitions on behalf of the Crown. He has by no means made out the title of the chief from whom he has obtained the cession of Singapore; and as the Dutch had asserted a previous claim to Singapore, founded upon grants from the Sultan of Rhio, he was bound by his instructions so far to respect such claim as to make its validity a matter of discussion, and to refer that discussion to Bengal. He has thought proper to act in direct contradiction to those instructions, and has chosen to presume that the discussion will go on more favourably to this country if, instead of the tedious process of investigating the title of the Dutch Government to all that they claim, His Majesty's Ministers shall have only to maintain Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles in possessions which he has thought proper to occupy.' In spite of this display of their feelings on the subject, the Committee decided to await the explanations of Lord Hastings 'before retaining or relinquishing Sir Thomas Raffles's acquisition at Singapore.'

Unpromising as may have sounded this opinion, it really admitted everything which Raffles needed to ask. All that was required was time, wherein Singapore might show the inherent advantages attaching to it. Most fortunately the settlement involved no large initial outlay. The expense of administration

[1] Singapore was of course north of the Equator.

for a whole year was not greater than the expense for a single month at Bencoolen. The remarkable advantages of the natural situation of Singapore caused trade from the first to advance by leaps and bounds. By August 1820 the population was estimated at about 10,000 or 12,000. For some time the letters of Raffles manifest the hesitation and doubt under which he laboured as to the final decision of Government. If he were to fail now, he would throw up the sponge and turn philosopher. In fact, however, the cause of Singapore had already virtually succeeded. As early as July 1819 a level-headed Director of the East India Company, Mr Charles Grant, could write :— 'The acquisition of Singapore grows in importance. The stir made here lately for the further enlargement of the Eastern trade fortified that impression. It is now accredited in the India House. Of late, in an examination before a Committee of the House of Lords, I gave my opinion of the value, in a moral, political and commercial view, of a British establishment in the locality of Singapore, under the auspices of the Company. From all these circumstances and others, I augur well as to the retention and encouragement of the station your rapidity has preoccupied.' A further consideration, which doubtless greatly influenced the home authorities, was the conviction which was soon brought home to them that, however indignant the Dutch might be, they would acquiesce in accomplished facts. In truth, the acquisition of Singapore paved the way for the friendly arrangement under which, a few years later, Bencoolen was ex-

changed for Malacca. Nevertheless, the more long-sighted among the Dutch recognised that a blow had been struck against their predominance in the Eastern seas, from which it was never destined to recover; and so it is not without cause, from a patriotic standpoint, that the Dutch historian, while giving an impartial estimate of the general character and services of Sir Stamford Raffles, can neither forget nor forgive 'that outrageous injustice which bears the name of Singapore.'

Our hero's own feelings with regard to his new acquisition must be sought in the pages of his private correspondence. He wrote to Mr Marsden on January 31:—'Here I am at Singapore, true to my word, and in the enjoyment of all the pleasures which a footing on such classic ground must inspire. The lines of the old city and of its defences are still to be traced, and within its ramparts the Union Jack floats unmolested. . . . The place possesses an excellent harbour and everything that can be desired for a British port in the island of St John's, which forms the south-western point of the harbour. We have commanded an intercourse with all the ships passing through the Straits of Singapore. . . . This, therefore, will probably be my last attempt. If I am deserted now I must fain return to Bencoolen and become philosopher.' To another correspondent he wrote on February 19:—'In short, Singapore is everything we could desire, and I may consider myself most fortunate in the selection; it will soon rise into importance; and with this single station

alone I will undertake to counteract the plans of Mynheer; it breaks the spell, and they are no longer the exclusive sovereigns of the Eastern seas.' Again he told the Duchess of Somerset (February 22), 'It has been my good fortune to establish this station in a position containing every possible advantage, geographical and local; and if I only meet with ordinary support from the higher powers, I shall effectually check the plans of the Dutch. . . . If this last effort for securing our interests also fails, I must be content to quit politics and turn philosopher.' In a similar strain he addresses Colonel Addenbrooke (in the following June):—'I shall say nothing of the importance which I attach to the permanence of the position I have taken up at Singapore; it is a child of my own. But for my Malay studies I should hardly have known that such a place existed; not only the European but the Indian world was also ignorant of it. . . . It is within a week's sail of China; still closer to Siam, Cochin China, etc.; in the very heart of the Archipelago, or, as the Malays call it, it is the navel of the Malay countries. Already a population of above 5000 souls has collected under our flag. . . . I am sure you will wish me success . . . if my plans are confirmed at home, it is my intention to make this my principal residence, and to devote the remaining years of my stay in the East to the advancement of a colony which, in every way it can be viewed, bids fair to be one of the most important, and at the same time one of the least expensive and troublesome, which we possess. Our

object is not territory but trade; a great commercial emporium and *fulcrum*, whence we may extend our influence politically as circumstances may hereafter require. By taking immediate possession we put a *negative* to the Dutch claim of exclusion, and at the same time revive the drooping confidence of our allies and friends. One free port in these seas must eventually destroy the spell of Dutch monopoly; and what Malta is in the West, that may Singapore become in the East.'

A very few words must suffice for the mission to Acheen. Raffles and his colleague arrived there on March 14, having started on the 8th. The desire of the Supreme Government was to establish friendly relations with the ruler of Acheen, so as to exclude Dutch influence. Unfortunately it was not clear who was the ruler. There were two claimants to the throne, neither of whom possessed commanding authority. The original monarch had been dispossessed in 1815 by a rival who had at once abdicated in favour of his second son. It was admitted that the conduct of the dethroned King had been imprudent and inconsiderate, and that he had fallen into the hands of bad European advisers. On these grounds the Prince of Wales's Island Government supported the new King. Raffles, on the other hand, maintained that the late King had learnt wisdom in the school of adversity, that he was supported by the majority of the people, and that the sole strength of the usurping King lay in the possession of a navy. He therefore treated with the former, carrying with him the

reluctant consent of the other Commissioner, Captain Coombs. It may be admitted that, when once Raffles had arrived at a conclusion, he did not much cultivate appearances in maintaining a judicial attitude. At anyrate, his conduct of this mission gave loopholes to an enemy's attack. He had despatched a private messenger to the claimant whom he favoured, a step which received the censure of the Supreme Government. His conduct in forwarding despatches without communication with his colleague was characterised as 'extremely uncourteous,' and 'wholly devoid of any sufficient motive with reference to the public service.' The refusal to interview the Sagis or chiefs, 'after they had assembled at a distance at your invitation,' was severely censured. The treaty would be ratified as the 'best course now to be pursued.' At the same time no further measures of interference were to be prosecuted. With regard to the treaty itself its advantages appeared precarious. 'The only part certain is the expense which is at once incurred.' In fact, the complete success of Raffles at Singapore rendered the question of Acheen of less importance. When we remember that our Dutch friends have only recently secured predominance at Acheen, after a war which lasted over twenty years, we may rejoice that British interests did not thrust us into this hornet's nest.

CHAPTER XII

LIFE AT BENCOOLEN

Home Life—Travels to Interior—Death of Children—Illness—Homesick.

ALTHOUGH Raffles was the only begetter and author of British Singapore, the actual time he spent there was very short. After its first acquisition he did not return thither till October 1822, when he remained till the following June. We have seen something of the public occupations which employed him while Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen; there remains to give some description of his private life during this period. Material is not wanting, as the *Memoir* written by his widow naturally deals at greater length with the portion of Sir Stamford's life of which she had first-hand knowledge. Lady Raffles writes of the time immediately following the return from Singapore:—'Perhaps this was one of the most happy periods in Sir Stamford's life. Politically he had attained the object which he felt so necessary for the good of his country (the establishment of Singapore). He was beloved by all those under his immediate control, who united in showing him every mark

of respect and attachment, and many were bound to him by ties of gratitude for offices of kindness, for private acts of benevolence and assistance which he delighted to exercise towards them. The settlement, like many other small societies, was divided into about as many parties as there were families on his first arrival; but these differences were soon healed and quieted, and a general interchange of good offices had succeeded. The natives and chiefs appreciated the interest which he took in their improvement, and placed implicit reliance upon his opinion and counsel. The consciousness of being beloved is a delightful, happy feeling, and Sir Stamford acknowledged with thankfulness at the time that every wish of his heart was gratified. Uninterrupted health had prevailed in his family, his children were his pride and delight, and they had already imbibed from him those tastes it was his pleasure to cultivate; this will not be wondered at, even at their early age, when it is added that two young tigers and a bear were for some time in the children's apartments, under the charge of their attendant, without being confined in cages, and it was rather a curious scene to see the children, the bear, the tigers, a blue mountain bird and a favourite cat all playing together, the parrot's beak being the only object of awe to all the party.' 'The lower part of our house at this moment,' Sir Stamford writes to the Duchess of Somerset from Penang (February 22, 1819), 'is more like the menagerie at Exeter 'Change than the residence of a gentleman. Fish, flesh and

fowl alike contribute to the collection, and, above, the rooms are variously ornamented with bunches of flowers, rendering them so many arbours. There are no less than five draughtsmen constantly employed, and with all our diligence we can hardly keep pace with the new acquisitions which are daily made. In another letter written in 1820 from Bencoolen, he speaks of a young pet elephant four feet high. He continues : 'I have one of the most beautiful men of the woods that can be conceived. He is not much above three feet high, wears a beautiful surtout of fine white woollen, and in his disposition and habits the kindest and most correct creature imaginable. . . . He has not the slightest rudiment of a tail, always walks erect, and will, I am quite sure, soon become a great favourite in Park Lane.'

Throughout the letters the fondness for children as well as for animals is very noticeable. Sir Stamford went among the children of the Duke of Somerset by the name of 'the dear Governor,' and the messages to Seymour and Anna Maria are continually recurring. Meanwhile, 'perhaps few people in a public station led so simple a life. While he was in Bencoolen, he rose early and delighted in driving into the villages, inspecting the plantations, and encouraging the industry of the people; at nine a party assembled at breakfast, which separated immediately afterwards; and he wrote, read, studied natural history, chemistry and geology, superintended the draughtsmen, of whom he had constantly five or six employed in a verandah, and always had his

children with him as he went from one pursuit to another, visiting his beautiful and extensive aviary, as well as the extraordinary collection of animals which were always domesticating in the house. At four he dined, and seldom alone, as he considered the settlement but as a family of which he was the head; immediately after dinner all the party drove out, and the evening was spent in reading, music and conversation. He never had any game of amusement in his house. After the party had dispersed, he was fond of walking out with the editor,[1] and enjoying the delicious coolness of the night land-wind, and a moon whose beauty those only who have been in tropical climates can judge of, so clear and penetrating are its rays that many fear them as much as the glare of the sun. Though scarcely a day passed without reptiles of all kinds being brought in, and the Cobra de Capello in numbers, the editor never remembers these pleasures being interrupted by any alarm.'

Perhaps the most interesting portion of Lady Raffles's *Memoir* are the chapters which deal with the expeditions made by Sir Stamford in her company into the interior of the country. At the time women travellers were not in evidence as they are to-day, and Lady Raffles does not appear to have been by nature fond of adventure; but she was a devoted wife, and believed, as her correspondence shows, that Sir Stamford might at any moment be struck down by sudden illness, and that it was therefore necessary

[1] Lady Raffles always speaks of herself as 'the editor.'

that she should be by his side. Raffles would gladly have spared her the hardships of this travelling, but she insisted. In a description of the journey in 1818 to the interior from Manna, wherein they discovered the gigantic *Rafflesia Arnoldi* flower, Sir Stamford writes:—

'There is nothing more striking in the Malayan forests than the grandeur of the vegetation; the magnitude of the flowers, creepers and trees contrasts strikingly with the stunted, and, I had almost said, pigmy, vegetation of England. Compared with our forest trees, your largest oak is a mere dwarf. . . . The day's journey being most fatiguing, and not less than thirty miles entirely through a thick forest and over stupendous mountains. . . . We got on, however, very well; and though we were all occasionally much fatigued, we did not complain. Lady Raffles was a perfect heroine. The only misfortune at this step was a heavy fall of rain during the night, which penetrated our leafy dwelling in every direction, and soaked every one of the party to the skin. We were now two days' march beyond the reach of supplies; many of our coolies had dropped off; some were fairly exhausted, and we began to wish our journey at an end. We, however, contrived to make a good dinner on the remaining fowl, and having plenty of rice and claret, did not complain of our fare.' It was on this journey that Sir Stamford made one of the treaties with the native chiefs so severely criticised at home. He was much struck by the moral and physical well-being of the people, and the wealth of the country.

'We now thought of returning to the coast, and on the 24th set off from Manna by a different route to that by which we had arrived. Our first day's journey was to Camumuan, which we reached a little before six in the evening, after the hardest day's walk I ever experienced. We calculated that we had walked more than thirty miles, and over the worst of roads. Hitherto we had been fortunate in our weather, but, before we reached this place, a heavy rain came on and soaked us completely. The baggage only came up in part, and we were content to sleep in our wet clothes, under the best shade we could find. No wood would burn; there was no moon; it was already dark, and we had no shelter erected. By perseverance, however, I made a tolerable place for Lady Raffles, and, after selecting the smoothest stone I could find in the bed of a river for a pillow, we managed to pass a tolerably comfortable night. . . . The next day we reached Merambung, where we got upon a raft, and were wafted down to the vicinity of Manna in about seven hours. The passage down the river was extremely romantic and grand; it is one of the most rapid rivers on the coast; we descended a rapid almost every hundred yards.'

The journey down the coast from Manna was performed on horseback, principally on the sea beach, and in the middle of the day, on account of tigers. The heat of the tropical sun proved fatal to one of the party, the botanist, Dr Arnold, whose loss both on private and scientific grounds was a severe blow to Raffles.

A yet more interesting expedition was made in the July of 1818 from Padang to Menang Kabu, the cradle of the Malay civilisation. The vessel on which Raffles embarked contained the collections which Dr Horsfield had brought for inspection. Sir Stamford seized the opportunity to 'inspect so many of the quadrupeds, birds and insects, as well as of the botanical and geological specimens, as enabled him to form an adequate estimate of the extent of the collection in these departments, and of the state of its preservation. He likewise examined the drawings, maps and manuscripts with patient attention, and was therefore enabled subsequently to describe the whole from personal inspection.' 'In natural history,' Horsfield notes, 'he had resolved not to rest satisfied in patronising the labours of others, but likewise to afford his personal co-operation.' Of the subsequent journey Raffles wrote:—'For the first part of the road we proceeded on horseback, but were soon obliged to dismount. We had scarcely passed the bazaar of Padang, when we had to swim our horses across a rapid stream, and, in the course of three hours, we had successively to cross at least twenty streams of the kind. Over some we were carried in small canoes, over others we were borne on men's backs, and through some we boldly waded, for it was impossible to think of remaining free from wet. At length we struck across the country to the northward, over a fine plain of rice fields, which, fortunately for us, were not in a state of cultivation. . . . Although we had been four hours on the road, we did not

estimate our distance from Padang in a direct line as more than six miles. The country through which we had passed was populous, and generally well cultivated; many herds of cattle and buffaloes near the road; an appearance of plenty and content throughout; the village appearing to occupy a very considerable extent, and to include orchards and plantations of various kinds.' In spite of a warning from Dr Horsfield, who doubted 'whether in favourable weather she could come on, as, in many places, a *lady cannot be carried*,' the party persevered, and, 'the violence of the current having abated, found the route passable. The ascent was very moderate, but many passages along the sides of slippery rocks very unsafe. We had frequently to wade across the stream, and continually to leap, like a flock of goats, from rock to rock.' 'Sat., July 18.—Having accomplished our journey thus far with less difficulty than we were at first prepared for, we set out this morning at half-past seven in high spirits, but before we came to our resting-place for the night they were pretty well exhausted; for, in consequence of some misapprehension in the party which had gone before us, we had to walk nearly twice the distance we had calculated upon, and this over the most fatiguing road, with little or nothing to eat or to drink. From the place where we had slept, our course continued up the bed of the river, but the ascent was much steeper, and the road far more difficult than on the preceding day. Rocks piled on rocks, in sublime confusion, roaring cataracts and slippery precipices were now to be

surmounted. . . . The night was extremely dark; we were in the centre of a deep forest, through which the twinkling of a star could not be seen. On either side of us were steep precipices of several hundred feet; we had no one with us who knew the road. . . . Our abode for the night was on a detached hill at the verge of the forest, the toll-post, where people or all ranks were indiscriminately accommodated, but in which we found as substantial comfort and repose as we could have desired in a palace.'

The further progress of the party was somewhat impeded by the attentions of the native chiefs, the exuberance of whose verbosity, with regard to the proposal to continue the journey, could only be quenched by a timely *douceur*. 'In our course, our party had been strengthened until it amounted to several thousands—the people of the country being collected at the different eminences near where we passed; they welcomed us as they joined the throng by the most discordant howls and cheers, which can be well conceived. Arrived at the market, they formed an extensive circle several rows deep, the front row squatting; nearly the whole were armed with spears, and among them were some women. . . . Finding ourselves among a set of people who exhibited in their manners so much of the savage, we determined to keep our party close together, and whenever any general movement was made, to call in the aid of the drum and fife, which fortunately we had brought with us; this imperfect music, most wretchedly performed, seemed to have a great effect upon the people.'

Hitherto the journey had been through the country occupied by the *Tigasblas Cotas* or *Thirteen Confederate Towns*. But the next destination was the Menangkabu country in which Raffles had for a long time felt great interest. Here were found inscriptions in the real Kawi character, bearing record to a period of Hindu dominion. 'The whole country, from Pageruyong, as far as the eye could distinctly trace, was one continuous scene of cultivation, interspersed with innumerable towns and villages, shaded by the cocoa-nut and other fruit trees. I may safely say that this view equalled anything I ever saw in Java; the scenery is more majestic and grand, population equally dense, cultivation equally rich. In a comparison with the plain of Matarem, the richest part of Java, I think it would rise. Here then, for the first time, was I able to trace the source of that power, the origin of that nation so extensively scattered over the Eastern Archipelago.' . . . 'What may be the eventual result of this journey it is impossible to say. In natural history, it has afforded me a very interesting insight into the mineral kingdom. We have traced the junction of the volcanic with the primitive series; and, by the evidence afforded in our collections, are enabled to estimate the mineral resources of the country. In the vegetable kingdom we discovered no less than forty-one plants, which appeared to Dr Horsfield entirely new, and certainly not contained in the Flora of Java. The different elevations above the sea were ascertained, some by barometrical, others by trigonometrical observations. The latitudes and longitudes fixed,

partly by observation and partly by dead reckoning. By crossing the range of mountains at different passes we clearly ascertained that there are three ridges, the central being the highest. The discovery of an extensively populous and highly agricultural country cannot fail to be interesting. On a moderate calculation, the population within a range of fifty miles round Pageruyong cannot be estimated at less than a million; by the returns I received on the spot, the number appears more considerable. . . . Politically the greatest results may accrue. At no very distant date the sovereignty of Menangkabu was acknowledged over the whole of Sumatra, and its influence extended to many of the neighbouring islands; the respect still paid to its princes by all ranks amounts almost to veneration. By upholding their authority, a central government may easily be established; and the numerous petty states, now disunited and barbarous, may be connected into one general system of government. The rivers, which fall into the Eastern Archipelago, may again become the high roads to and from the central capital; and Sumatra, under British influence, again rise into great political importance.'

It must be remembered that all this took place before the foundation of Singapore. Alas! these political aspirations were not more delusive than were the hopes of domestic happiness held out by the first years at Bencoolen. A son and heir had been born at Penang, while Raffles himself was occupied with the birth-throes of Singapore, but, in spite of the inconvenience and risk of such an *accouche-*

ment, mother and son had thrived satisfactorily. The eldest born girl had been well enough, but Leopold, when about two years old, is 'the handsomest and the most princely little fellow that ever lived.' Another son, who went by the name of Cooksey, was born in 1820, but he, when less than a year old, though 'good-natured as any creature can be,' had 'not half expression enough.' A second girl, Ella, was born in June 1821. But then the blow fell. 'Our house of joy,' Raffles wrote on June 28, 1821, 'has been changed into a house of mourning, and on the very day we fixed for the christening of our last little one,' Leopold died, after an illness of less than twenty hours. 'My whole soul was wrapped up in him. The other children were nothing in the scale compared to him.' The mortality among those near to him was so great that Raffles almost dreaded 'to open a letter, or to look round me.' The series of sorrows had begun with the death of a brother of Lady Raffles, in October 1820, and continued throughout the next year. In October 1821 Raffles writes of another death. 'I hope this is the last of our misfortunes.' But there was more in store. 'The last and remaining boy' died on January 3, 1822, and Charlotte did not survive him another fortnight. 'I can say no more,' Raffles writes to his sister. 'God's will be done.' One child only was now left, who was despatched to England as soon as possible. Her health was never good, and she died under the age of twenty.

No wonder that being thus sated with death,

overwhelmed as they were with grief, Sir Stamford Raffles and his wife hardly survived the strain put upon them. 'I have been desperately ill,' Raffles wrote in February 1822, 'and confined to a dark room the last ten days, but, thank God, I am better. I dare not write much.' He had been confined to his room 'by a severe fever, which fell on the brain and drove me almost to madness.' 'Lady Raffles has in point of health showed better than myself, but she is miserably reduced and lowered.' In these circumstances, Bencoolen and its surroundings wore a very different appearance from the one which they had assumed in the full flush of health and happiness. 'How different are these communications to those I was so happy as to make during our first three years' residence! We were then perhaps too happy, and prided ourselves too highly on future prospects. It has pleased God to blight our hopes, and we must now lower our expectations more to the standard of the ordinary lot of human nature. God's will be done.

'All our thoughts and all our wishes are now turned homewards. Sometimes the prospect is bright, and the heart expands in the contemplation; at others, dark clouds intervene, and the dread of meeting old friends with new faces and colder hearts chills every feeling of pleasure. For ourselves, I can only say that with every remove we have dragged a lengthened chain; and that our attachments and affections have only warmed and increased in the ratio of the distance to which

we have been driven and the time we have been banished. . . . Lady Raffles prays you to excuse her; since the loss of my dear Leopold, she has never dared to take pen in her hand. In a day or two we shall be left without a single child! What a change! we who had recently had a round and happy circle. All our fears were once that we should have too many; all our cares are now to preserve one, our only one: I cannot say any more; my heart is sick and nigh broken.'

Our hero's nature, however, was not one to yield to misfortune. 'I am not one of that "Satanic School" who look upon this world as the hell of some former and past creation, but am content to take it as I find it, firmly believing from all I have known and seen that whatever is, is for our good and happiness, and that there is actually more of both even in this world than in our consciences we can think we have deserved . . . deaths are of daily occurrence in our small circle; but, notwithstanding this, we still look up; therefore, with the blessing of God, don't despair of seeing us in 1824' (July 25, 1822).

A remarkable feature in Sir Stamford's character was the way in which both in weal and in woe he did not allow himself to become absorbed in his own immediate concerns, but was always ready to show sympathy for the interests of others. No father could be more careful on behalf of a son than was Raffles on behalf of his brother-in-law, Captain Flint. He had obtained for him an ap-

pointment as head of the customs at Singapore. Flint, a downright and honest sailor, found it often difficult to accommodate himself to the humours of his Chief, Major Farquhar. Again and again Sir Stamford counsels prudence. 'Tell Flint,' he writes (February 11, 1822), 'that if he keeps his temper he may be right, but if he loses it he must be wrong.' 'My wish is,' Raffles wrote to his sister on the eve of his return to England, 'that you should consider yourselves as still under my protection. I have not deserted Singapore, and never will, and perhaps some day, when you least expect it, better luck may happen to the place than any of you dream of.' In this spirit Sir Stamford and Lady Raffles took home the Flint's only son, who was considered by them as their own child, and found, on the death of his own parents, in Lady Raffles a second mother.

It is necessary to lay emphasis upon this side of Raffles's nature because it accounts for what otherwise would jar upon the impartial student of his life and proceedings, viz., the persistent manner in which he was always pressing money claims upon the East India Company. We have had enough of this already, but it may be noticed that Raffles took advantage of the temper of the Directors appearing more favourable to claim the difference between the actual value of the currency received for salary at Java and the amount it would have been in Spanish dollars, and again to urge the demand that his salary as Resident at Bencoolen

should begin from the date of his being relieved of the government of Java, instead of from the date when he actually assumed the government. In neither of these claims was he successful. The first the Company held to be *res judicata*. To the second the literal text of his appointment barred the way. Whatever our opinion of all this, at least it must be remembered that in this case the workman was worthy of his hire, and that the hire was intended for no ignoble use.

CHAPTER XIII

SINGAPORE REVISITED (1822-23)

Colonel Farquhar—Mistakes of Resident—Measures of Reform—Foundation of Singapore Institute—Abolition of Slavery—Final Departure.

SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES returned to Singapore in October 1822 with mixed feelings of pleasure and disappointment. Upon the one hand his 'child' had thrived more even than he himself anticipated. As early as the end of March 1820, Colonel Farquhar had been able to write :—'Nothing can possibly exceed the rising trade and general prosperity of this infant colony; indeed, to look at our harbour just now . . . a person would naturally exclaim, surely this cannot be an establishment of only twelve months' standing! . . . In short, the settlement bids fair to become the emporium of Eastern trade, and in time may surpass even Batavia itself'; and, assuredly, in the last two years' progress had been no less rapid. Upon the other hand, the behaviour of the Resident himself gave grave cause for dissatisfaction. 'We landed yesterday,' Raffles wrote on October 11, 'and I have once more established my headquarters in the centre of my Malayan friends. The coldest and most disinterested could not quit Bencoolen and land at Singapore without sur-

prise and emotion. What, then, must have been my feelings, after the loss of almost everything that was dear to me on that ill-fated coast, after all the risks and dangers to which this my almost only child had been exposed, to find it grown and advanced beyond all measure, and even my warmest anticipations and expectations, in importance, wealth and interest—in everything that can give it value and permanence? Rob me not of this, my political child, and you may yet see me at home in all my wonted spirits, and with an elasticity about me which will bear me up against all that party spirit can do to depress me.'

But while the progress of the new settlement was in every way most satisfactory, such progress had been by no means due to the Resident. The circumstances in which Colonel Farquhar was first appointed have been already stated. At first it was generally understood that the appointment was a temporary one; Colonel Farquhar being anxious to return to England. As Singapore grew in importance, the views of its Resident altered, and, at the end of 1820, he wrote that, 'as the same urgent call no longer exists for my proceeding to Europe on furlough, I desire to postpone departure till season of 1821-22.' Meanwhile Raffles had been drawing up a new scheme of administration, under which Singapore should be made directly dependent on the Government of India, and the salary of the Resident reduced. Mr John Crawfurd was to succeed Colonel Farquhar in the government. Colonel Farquhar,

however, refused to state the time of his departure, and finally, when notified that, as Mr Crawfurd was about to leave Bengal, 'his temporary and dependent appointment must now cease,' set Raffles at defiance, and refused to recognise his authority. In this state of things Raffles had no alternative but to supersede Farquhar, and take upon himself provisionally the administration of the settlement. It is true that Raffles was censured by the Supreme Government for taking this step, 'which nothing but a real and positive necessity could justify,' without their previous sanction, but when can a real and positive necessity exist if not when the authority of a superior officer has been openly set at defiance? In their judgment upon the conduct of Farquhar, the Supreme Government wrote in agreement with the views of Raffles. They considered that Farquhar's 'measures had been unfortunate when they had departed from your instructions.' These measures had indeed been such as to justify the indignation of Raffles. If there was one cause Sir Stamford had at heart, it was the suppression of the slave trade, and, so far as possible, of slavery. In his efforts on behalf of this cause he had more than once risked the criticisms and censures of his superiors. He had given no special instructions with regard to the slave trade to Farquhar, because he 'never could have supposed that a British officer could have tolerated such a practice in a settlement circumstanced like Singapore, and formed after the promulgation of the Act of Parliament declaring it felony.' 'I need therefore say,' he continues, in his reply (dated January

25, 1825) to Colonel Farquhar's memorial, 'how much I was shocked in hearing the cries of a female, shortly after my landing in Singapore in 1822, proceed from a vessel in the river, whose principal cargo was female slaves for the market of Singapore.'

We have seen the relentless war waged by Raffles in Bencoolen against the gaming and cockfighting establishments, he now found that such had been established at Singapore 'contrary to the most express and positive orders which' Farquhar had received. Raffles had further to complain of 'irregularity in the construction of public buildings and appropriation of the ground expressly reserved for public purposes, for the benefit of a few favoured individuals, . . . whereby the whole plan and order of things directed on the first establishment of the settlement was so far deranged as to render it indispensable that his proceedings should be disavowed, that the town should be removed, and that the whole of the land should be resumed at great expense to Government, and no less loss to individuals.'[1] Sir Stamford's disappointment was great. 'I had anticipated,' he wrote in a despatch dated January 15, 1823, 'the satisfaction of constructing all necessary public buildings free of expense to Government, and of delivering over charge of the settlement at the end of the present year with an available revenue nearly equal to its expenses, and it is extremely mortifying that the irregularities admitted by the last Resident oblige me to forego this arrangement.'

[1] *See* Appendix, p. 279.

But if there was this reverse side to the shield, upon the whole Raffles had good reason for satisfaction. For the first time he had a free hand for the accomplishment of some, at least, of his ideals. In his local laws and regulations, and especially in the report on the Administration of Justice, addressed to the Supreme Government, Sir Stamford anticipated in a remarkable degree the views of later times. 'I am satisfied,' he wrote, 'that nothing has tended more to the discomfort and constant jarrings, which have hitherto occurred in our remote settlements, than the policy which has dictated the exclusion of the European merchants from all share, much less credit, in the domestic regulation of the settlement, of which they are frequently its most important members. Some degree of legislative power must necessarily exist in every distant dependency. The laws of the mother country cannot be commensurate with the wants of the dependency; she has wants of which a remote legislature can very imperfectly judge, and which are sometimes too urgent to admit the delay of reference. Circumstanced as Singapore is, even the Governor-General in Council, with whom the legislative power will probably rest, is hardly competent to legislate for such a state without the assistance of local advice. The administration of the settlement is necessarily limited to one individual, who, having no Council, could not be entrusted with the enactment of laws which require deliberation and advice, and the mode which I have provided seems at once the most congenial to our national institutions, the most simple in

its adoption and application, and the most promising in its advantages; at the same time that neither the Supreme Government, as the higher legislative authority, nor the local Resident, as the Governor and Executive Officer of the state, loses any of the powers or attributes properly vested in him. The nomination of magistrate is vested in him; and as the appointment is a mark of respect to the individual, inasmuch as the exclusion is a disgrace, it may be considered as rather extending his patronage and authority than otherwise' (Despatch, June 6, 1823).

As amended, the system of government involved the annual selection of twelve magistrates from among the British community. Local laws and regulations were to be enacted by and with the advice of the magistracy. Proposed regulations might originate with the magistrates, and in such cases, 'in the event of a difference of opinion and the Resident declining to enact the proposed regulation within three months, the magistrates may request that their recommendation be transmitted for the consideration of the Governor-General in Council. Subordinate to the magistrates there shall further be appointed one native captain or headman, with one or more lieutenants or assistants, over each principal class of the native inhabitants, who will be invested with especial authority over such class, and held responsible for the general conduct of the same.'

Upon the question of the laws to be administered, Raffles's remarks are of especial value. 'The population of Singapore will probably consist of a mixture

in various proportions of strangers, from all parts of the world, having commercial concerns at the port, though chiefly of Malays and Chinese; and it would be impracticable for any judicial authority to become perfectly acquainted with the laws and customs having the force of laws acknowledged in their own countries respectively by the varied classes of so mixed a population; and it would be still more so to attempt to administer these in such a manner as to preserve them inviolate, even in the mutual intercourse of those classes severally amongst themselves, much less when justice is to be administered between two persons of different classes. It is, I believe, generally admitted that, in colonies formed entirely by Englishmen, they naturally carry the laws of their country with them, subject only to such local modifications as the constitution of the colony may require; but nine-tenths of the population of Singapore will most probably consist of Chinese and Malays, and the restrictions of the legislature may for many years operate against any considerable extension in the number of Englishmen.' Raffles proceeds to give by actual instances the strange results that would ensue were the criminal law to be administered according to native notions. His general conclusion was 'to apply the general principles of British law to all, equally and alike, without distinction of tribe or nation, under such modifications only as local circumstances and peculiarities, and a due consideration for the weaknesses and prejudices of the native part of the population, may from time to time suggest.' In the language of the Proclamation of

June 26, 1823, 'nothing seems to be left but to have recourse to first principles; to use every precaution against the existence of temptation to crime that is found consistent with the perfect liberty of those who have no evil intention; and, when these precautions fail, to secure redress to the injured party, if possible, and such punishment as will be most likely to prevent a repetition of the crime, either by the party himself offending, or by those who may be inclined to follow his example. Nothing should be endured in the settlement, however sanctioned by the local usage of particular tribes who resort to it, that has either a direct effect, or notoriously strong tendency to endanger the safety or liberty of persons, or the security of property; and in the same manner, no want of what are considered legal formalities in any country should debar a person from having substantial justice rendered to him, *so that legal and moral obligation may never be sundered.*' In the same Proclamation it was stated:—'The imprisonment of an unfortunate debtor at the pleasure of the creditor . . . seems objectionable in this settlement . . . the debtor should only be liable to imprisonment in case of fraud, and as far as may be necessary for the security of his person in the event of his not being able to find bail during the process of the Court, and for the performance of the decree after judgment may be passed. It is well known that the Malay race are sensibly alive to shame, and that in many instances they would prefer death to ignominy. This is a high and honourable feeling, and ought to be cherished. Let great care

be taken to avoid all punishments which are unnecessarily degrading. . . . Let no man be punished without a reason assigned. . . . Let native institutions so far as regards religious observances, marriage, and inheritance be respected, when the same may not be inconsistent with justice and humanity, or injurious to the peace and morals of society. Let all men be considered equal in the eye of the law. Let no man be banished the country without a trial by his peers or by due course of law. Let no man be deprived of his liberty without a cause, and no man be detained in confinement beyond forty-eight hours without a right to demand a hearing and trial according to due course of law. Let the public have a voice through the magistracy, by which their sentiments may at all times be freely expressed.' When it is remembered that these rules were drawn up for an Oriental dependency nine years before the first Reform Bill, it will be recognised that Raffles was far in advance of the time in which he lived.

In one respect Singapore did not offer a very suitable field for the working out of Raffles's ideas. He believed that the only principle upon which the future administration of a country could be rendered simple and advantageous, both to the interests of the people and of the East India Company, was that of gradually raising into importance such of the native chiefs as from rank and character might be entrusted with authority, but no native could ever superintend the multifarious needs of a polyglot commercial station such as Singapore. What Raffles could do by

associating the Sultan and the Tumung'gung with the Resident in the administration of the criminal law he did; but beyond this it was impossible to go. The methods which had been suitable enough in Java and Sumatra were wholly inapplicable to the case of a single city like Singapore. Here again, however, time has justified the wisdom of Raffles's general principles, and the government of the Malay Federated States, as it exists to-day, represents exactly the ideal to which Raffles was pointing.

In one important respect Raffles was able to realise his hopes, and the port of Singapore became 'a free port, the trade thereof open to ships and vessels of every nation free of duty, equally and alike to all.'

Another scheme of Raffles's could now be carried out. Our friend Abdulla tells us how, when the preparations were being made for the Java Expedition, he had accompanied Raffles on a visit to a school for Malay boys. Raffles 'asked why the schoolmaster did not teach Malay. To this the schoolmaster replied, "It is the boys' own fathers that have ordered me to teach the Koran first; and, when they have completed this, they can then commence Malay. This is our custom. Further, it is not the custom of this place to maintain a school for the Malay language." Then said Mr Raffles, "Very good, O master! I want to know only. Don't be angry with me." So he said good-bye, and went out. And as he was going he said to me, "Is this truly the custom of the Malays?" To this I replied,

"True, sir." He then smiled, and said, "If I live I shall have a school set agoing for teaching Malay. I am most anxious about this, as it is a beautiful language; further, it is of great utility."'

The time had now come for this promise to be made good. According to Abdulla, the immediate cause of the Singapore Institute lay in the refusal of the Sultan and the Tumung'gung to accept Raffles's offer that their sons should be sent for education to Calcutta, but, in fact, the whole plan of the college had been sketched out in the memorable Minute of 1819 dealt with below. The starting of the Institute is best told in Abdulla's words:—'About one month after this the Sultan, Tumung'gung and all the leading men of the Europeans were invited to the house of Colonel Farquhar, where they assembled at ten in the morning, none knowing the object of their coming together. After all had assembled, Mr Raffles entered, first paying his respects to the Sultan and Tumung'gung, seating them on either side of himself. Then addressing the Sultan, he said, "Oh! Sultan, Tumung'gung, and all ye gentlemen here gathered together, I have a desire to give effect to, to wit, an undertaking of the greatest utility to this and to future generations; for to-day we live that we may die and then pass away. Now, if we can show good deeds, we are named as good hereafter, and if bad, so accordingly. Now, while we have the opportunity, let us make a good name for future generations. Now, what I desire to do is to erect

an edifice in which all races can be taught, each in their own language and by their own schoolmasters, in all knowledge which pertains to true intelligence, such as may be imparted to each and every one, saving and excepting such as affects faith; confining the institution to languages, writing, arithmetic, astronomy, geography, etc. But my greatest anxiety is to advance the Malays, by easy degrees, in their own language; otherwise let each race have its assigned place, and all this without expense, but let the teaching be gratuitous. The country will increase in population in time, so if there be such an institute, its fame will spread to all races. What do you, gentlemen, think of my proposition, is it good or not?" The Sultan and Tumung'gung replied that the proposition was excellent, as their children would thus be enabled to obtain instruction. All the European gentlemen also expressed themselves as approving of the scheme. Then said Mr Raffles, "Let us settle the matter by subscribing to the erection of the edifice." To this all replied assenting. On this Mr Raffles took pen and paper and, by way of precedence to the East India Company, he wrote down two thousand dollars, himself adding from his private purse the same sum. Then he asked, with a smile, what the Sultan would give. "Shall it be two thousand also?" But he replied with a loud exclamation, and a laugh, that he was a poor man, so where would he get two thousand dollars? To this Mr Raffles argued that he should give more than he (Raffles) gave, as the undertaking was of

immediate utility to the Malays, and greatly more so than to the English, but let it be one thousand dollars. Then he asked the Tumung'-gung to give one thousand dollars, Colonel Farquhar the same, Dr Martin two hundred, and Lady Raffles two hundred. After this the various English gentlemen gave their quota, the whole amounting to seventeen thousand five hundred Spanish dollars.'

In the powerful Minute by Raffles on the establishment of a Malay college at Singapore, perhaps the most eloquent of all his writings, he wrote :—'The acquisitions of Great Britain in the East have not been made in the spirit of conquest ; a concurrence of circumstances not to be controlled, and the energies of her sons, have carried her forward on the tide whose impulse has been irresistible. Other nations may have pursued the same course of conquest and success, but they have not, like her, paused in their career and, by moderation and justice, consolidated what they had gained. This is the rock on which her Indian Empire is placed ; and it is on a perseverance in the principles which have already guided her that she must depend for maintaining her commanding station, and for saving her from adding one more to the list of those who have contended for empire and have sunk beneath the weight of their own ambition. Conquest has led to conquest, and our influence must continue to extend : the tide has received its impetus and it will be in vain to attempt

to stem its current, but let the same principles be kept in view, let our minds and policies expand with our Empire, and it will not only be the greatest but the firmest and most enduring that has yet been held forth to the views and admiration of the world. While we raise those in a scale of civilisation over whom our influence or empire is extended, we shall lay the foundations of our dominion on the firm basis of justice and mutual advantage, instead of the uncertain and unsubstantial tenure of force and intrigue. . . . Recent events have directed our attention to . . . the Malayan Archipelago, where a vast field of commercial speculation has been opened, the limits of which it is difficult to foresee. A variety of circumstances have concurred to extend our connections in this quarter, and later arrangements, by giving them a consistency and consolidation and uniting them more closely with our best interests both in India and Europe, have added much to their importance and consideration. Our connection with them, however, stands on a very different footing from that with the people of India. However inviting and extensive their resources, it is considered that they can be best drawn forth by the native energies of the people themselves, uninfluenced by foreign rule, and unfettered by foreign regulations, and that it is by the reciprocal advantage of commerce, and commerce alone, that we may best promote our own interests and their advancement. A few stations are occupied for the security and protection of our trade, and the independence of all

the surrounding states is not only acknowledged, but maintained and supported by us.

'Commerce being, therefore, the principle on which our connection with the Eastern States is formed, it behoves us to consider the effects which it is calculated to produce. . . . Education must keep pace with commerce in order that its benefits may be ensured and its evils avoided; and in our connection with these countries it shall be our care that, while with one hand we carry to their shores the capital of our merchants, the other shall be stretched forth to offer them the means of intellectual improvement.'

After an exhaustive analysis of the Malay character, Raffles proceeds to dwell upon the probability of a great Chinese immigration. 'Borneo and the Eastern Islands may become to China what America is already to the nations of Europe.' For the purposes of the study of the various races, Singapore offered unrivalled advantages. 'Placed as we shall be in the very centre of the Archipelago, the life and soul of its extensive commerce, and maintaining with its most distant parts and with the adjacent continent a constant and rapidly-increasing intercourse, the means are afforded to us, above all other nations, of prosecuting these studies with facility and advantage. . . . The object of our stations being confined to the protection and encouragement of a free and unrestricted commerce with the whole of these countries, and our establishments being on this footing and principle, no jealousy can exist where we make our inquiries. . . . There is nothing, perhaps, which

distinguishes the character of these islanders from the people of India more than the absence of inveterate prejudice and the little influence Mohammedanism has had over their conduct and mode of thinking. . . . The inducements and facilities which are thus afforded suggest the advantage and necessity of forming, under the immediate control and superintendence of Government, an institution of the nature of a native college, which shall embrace not only the object of educating the higher classes of the native population, but at the same time that of affording instruction to the officers of the Company in the native languages, and of facilitating our more general researches into the history, condition and resources of these countries.

'An institution of this kind, formed on a simple but respectable plan, would be hailed with satisfaction by the native chiefs, who, as far as their immediate means admit, may be expected to contribute to its support, and a class of intelligent natives, who would be employed as teachers, would always be at the command and disposal of Government. The want of such a class of men has long been felt, and is perhaps in a considerable degree owing to the absence of any centre or seat of learning to which they could resort. The position and circumstance of Singapore point it out as the most eligible situation for such an establishment. Its central situation among the Malay States, and the commanding influence of its commerce, render it a place of general and convenient resort, while in the minds of the natives it will always be

associated with their fondest recollections as the seat of their ancient government before the influence of a foreign faith had shaken those institutions for which they still preserve so high an attachment and reverence. The advantage of selecting a place thus hallowed by the ideas of a remote antiquity, and the veneration attached to its ancient line of kings must be obvious.'

The object of the proposed college would be threefold. Educationally it would minister to the wants both of the native youth and of the English civil servants; while, on the side of research, it would serve as a centre for all studies connected with the Malay race.

The conclusion of the Minute ran as follows:— 'The object at present has been with the least pretension to commence an institution which shall continue to grow and extend itself in proportion to the benefit it affords. A situation has been chosen, the most advantageous for this purpose, from whence, as a centre, its influence may be diffused, and its sphere generally extended, until it, at length, embraces even the whole of that wide field whose nature has already been shown. That it will spread may be considered almost beyond a doubt. We know the readiness and aptness of the people to receive instruction, we know that they have had similar institutions of their own in happier and more prosperous times, and that they now lament the want of them as not the smallest of the evils that have attended the fall of this power. It is to Britain alone that they can look for the restoration

of these advantages; she is now called upon to lay the foundation-stone, and there is little doubt that, this once done, the people will largely themselves contribute to rearing and completing the edifice.

'But it is not to remote and speculative advantages that the effect of such an institution will be confined. While the enlightened philanthropist will dwell with pleasure on that part of the prospect, the immediate advantages will be found fully proportionate. To afford the means of instruction in the native languages to those who are to administer our affairs and to watch over our interests in such extensive regions is surely no trifling or unimportant object. In promoting the interests of literature and science, not less will be its effect. In Bengal, where inquiries into the literature, history and customs of Oriental nations have been prosecuted with such success and attended with such important results, such an institution will prove a powerful auxiliary in extending these inquiries among the people of the Further East. Many of the researches already begun can only be perfected and completed on this soil, and they will be forwarded on the present plan by collecting the scattered remains of the literature of their countries, by calling forth the literary spirit of the people and awaking its dormant energies. The range of intellect now divided and lost will be concentrated into a focus, from whence they will be again radiated with added lustre, enlightened and strengthened by our superior lights. Thus will our stations become not only the centres of commerce and its luxuries, but of refinement and the liberal arts. If com-

merce brings wealth to our shores, it is the spirit of literature and philanthropy that teaches us how to employ it for the noblest purposes. It is this that has made Britain go forth among the nations, strong in her native might, to dispense blessings to all around her. If the time shall come when her Empire shall have passed away, these monuments of her virtue will endure when her triumphs have become an empty name. Let it still be the boast of Britain to write her name in characters of light; let her not be remembered as the tempest whose course was desolation, but as the gale of spring, reviving the slumbering seeds of mind, and calling them to life from the winter of oppression. Let the sun of Britain arise on these islands not to wither and scorch them in its fierceness, but like that of her own genial skies, whose mild and benignant influence is hailed and blessed by all who feel its rays.'

Sir Stamford Raffles left Singapore on June 9, 1823. 'I have not, as you may suppose,' he wrote, 'remained at Singapore eight months for nothing; two-thirds of the time have no doubt been spent in pain and annoyance from the dreadful headaches I am doomed to suffer in this country, but the remaining third has been actively employed. I have had everything to new mould from first to last—to introduce a system of energy, purity and encouragement; to remove nearly all the inhabitants and to resettle them; to line out towns, streets and roads; to level the high and fill up the low lands; to give property in the

soil and rights to the people ; to lay down principles and sketch institutions for the domestic order and comfort of the place as well as its future character and importance ; to look for a century or two beforehand, and provide for what Singapore may one day become by the adoption of all such measures of forecast as reason and experience can suggest.'

We have seen the indignation aroused in Raffles by Colonel Farquhar's toleration of the slave trade ; he now, though with some hesitation, proceeded a step further, and exacted the abolition of slavery itself.[1] Somewhat arrogant as may sound the tone of our hero's statement of his own services, there can be no question as to its literal accuracy. 'To look for a century or two beforehand.' In the scramble of opportunist statesmanship how seldom is such an attempt possible ; how rare, when the opportunity does offer, is the prescience which can read the purport of the knocking of the coming generations at the gate ! We are indebted to our friend Abdulla for a graphic description of the final departure from Singapore. 'Then on a certain day Mr Raffles said to me, "I intend to sail in three days hence, so collect all my Malay books." And when I heard this my

[1] With regard to slavery generally the following regulation was enacted :—'As the condition of slavery, under any denomination whatever, cannot be recognised within the jurisdiction of the British authority, all persons who may have been so imported, transferred or sold as slaves or slave debtors, since the 26th day of February 1819, are entitled to claim their freedom on application to the magistrates as hereafter provided, and it is here declared that no individual can hereafter be imported for sale, transferred or sold as a slave or slave debtor, or, having his or her *fixed residence* under the protection of the British authority, can be hereafter considered or treated as a slave, under any denomination, condition, colour or pretence whatever.'

heart palpitated and my spirit was gone, so I asked him where he was going, when he told me that he was going to Europe. And when I heard this I could bear it no longer. I felt as if I had lost father and mother; such was my condition that my eyes were bathed in tears. When he perceived this his face became flushed, and, wiping his tears with his handkerchief, he told me not to be disheartened, for, if he lived, he intended to return to Singapore. . . . He then called me into the room and told me that there were three presses filled with Malay books, and to wrap them up well in waxcloth and pack them in hair trunks, four in number. There were also Javanese instruments and various other articles; and when he had shown me all these he went out; so with my own hands I packed up all the books, histories and poems. Of these there were three hundred bound books, not counting the unbound ones, and scrolls and pamphlets. . . . Then there were two trunks filled with letters, Javanese, Bali and Bujis books, and various images, paintings with their frames, musical instruments, inscriptions and lontar leaves. Of these there were three or four boxes. Besides this, the Javanese instruments, with their equipments, were in one great box, and there were many thousands of specimens of animals, whose carcases had been taken out but stuffed like life. There were also two or three trunks full of birds in thousands and of various species, and all stuffed. There were also several hundred bottles of different sizes. . . . There were also two boxes filled

with coral of a thousand kinds, also shells, mussels and bivalves of different species. On all these articles stated above he placed a value greater than gold; and he was constantly coming in to see that nothing was hurt or broken. . . . Such was my separation from Mr Raffles. I was not distressed about my livelihood or because of my losing him, but because of his noble bearing, his justness, modesty and respect to his fellowmen. All these I remember to this day. There are many great men besides him—clever, rich and handsome—but in good disposition, amiability and gracefulness, Mr Raffles had not his equal. . . . When they had ascended the ship's side and the crew were raising the anchor, Mr Raffles called me to him, and I went into his cabin, where I observed that his face was flushed as if he had been wiping his tears.'

It is right and fitting that the description of Sir Stamford's last moments at Singapore should be from the pen of a member of the nation whose cause he had consistently espoused throughout his public life.

CHAPTER XIV

VOYAGE HOME, AND LAST DAYS IN ENGLAND (1824-26)

Further Misfortune—Starts for England—Burning of the *Fame*—Voyage Home—Plans for Life in England—Recovers His Spirits—Purchases 'Highwood'—Enjoys Society—Founds 'Zoo'—Claim by East India Company—Death.

Our hero's public life may be said to have closed with his departure from Singapore. He returned indeed to Bencoolen for a few months, but only in order that he might wind up affairs. On the voyage an amusing proof was given of the feelings entertained by the Dutch authorities with regard to him. The ship had occasion to touch at Batavia, and Sir Stamford sent a civil note requesting that Lady Raffles, on account of her health, might be allowed to land. The panic-stricken reply of the Dutch Governor is exceedingly funny. He wonders that after what has happened since 1818 Raffles should show his face at Batavia. In the circumstances, he cannot allow of any personal interview or communication, a favour which Raffles had assuredly never requested. 'Had Bonaparte returned to life and anchored in the Downs, it would not have excited greater agitation in England than my arrival has done here.' It is but

fair to add that the permission with regard to Lady Raffles was duly granted. The return to Bencoolen was not under very cheerful auspices. Another little girl was born to Lady Raffles in the autumn of 1823, who, however, did not live long, and Lady Raffles herself, after recovering from confinement, was attacked by a very severe fever. Her husband's own health became very bad. 'I am scarcely able to hold up my head for two days together,' he writes on November 14, 1823. 'In returning to Bencoolen,' Lady Raffles states, 'Sir Stamford had once more to encounter a scene of trial, sickness and death. His few remaining friends fell a sacrifice to the climate; his family it pleased God to afflict with illness; and it seemed as if his life was to end with his labours. It is not easy to describe the state of anxiety in which the last two months were spent; ready and anxious to leave a place in which so many earthly ties of happiness had been broken, and yet seeing hour after hour pass away, without the means of escape, and with scarcely a hope that life would be prolonged from one day to another.' 'Either I must go to England,' Sir Stamford writes on December 20, 'or, by remaining in India, *die*.'

At last, after it had been arranged to go home on another vessel, the *Fame* arrived; and on February 2, 1824, Sir Stamford and Lady Raffles embarked, and sailed at daybreak for England, 'with a fair wind and every prospect of a quick and comfortable passage.' *Dis aliter visum!* A fresh misfortune was to subject Raffles's philosophy to a strain more trying in its way than the misfortunes of the past few years. 'Sophia,'

Raffles writes on the 4th, 'had just gone to bed, and I had thrown off half my clothes, when a cry of Fire! Fire! roused us from our calm content, and in five minutes the whole ship was in flames! I ran to examine whence the flames principally issued, and found that the fire had its origin immediately under our cabin. Down with the boats! Where is Sophia? Here. The children? Here. A rope to the side, lower Lady Raffles, give her to me, says one; I'll take her, says the Captain. Throw the gunpowder overboard! It cannot be got at. It is in the magazine close to the fire. Stand clear of the powder. Scuttle the water casks. Water! water! Where's Sir Stamford? Come into the boat! Nilson! Nilson, come into the boat. Push off, push off! Stand clear of the after part of the ship. All this passed much quicker than I can write it; we pushed off, and, as we did so, the flames burst out of our cabin window, and the whole of the after part of the ship was in flames. The masts and sails now taking fire, we moved to a distance sufficient to avoid the immediate explosion; but the flames were now coming out of the main hatchway; and seeing the rest of the crew with the captain still on board, we pulled back to her under the bows, so as to be more distant from the powder. As we approached we perceived that the people on board were getting into another boat on the opposite side. She pushed off. We hailed her. Have you all on board? Yes, all save one. Who is he? Johnson, sick in his cot. Can we save him? No, impossible. The flames

were issuing from the hatchway. At this moment the poor fellow, scorched, I imagine, by the flames, roared out most lustily, having run upon the deck. I will go for him, says the Captain. The two boats then came together, and we took out some of the persons from the Captain's boat, which was overladen. We then pulled under the bowsprit of the ship and picked the poor fellow up. Are you all safe? Yes, we have got the man. All lives safe, thank God! Pull off from the ship. Keep your eye on a star, Sir Stamford. There's one scarcely visible. We then hauled close to each other, and found the Captain fortunately had a compass, but we had no light except from the ship. Our distance from Bencoolen we estimated to be about fifty miles in a south-west direction. There being no landing-place to the southward of Bencoolen, our only chance was to regain that port. The captain then undertook to lead, and we to follow in a N.N.E. course as well as we could; no chance, no possibility being left that we could again approach the ship, for she was now one splendid flame, fore and aft and aloft, her masts and sails in a blaze, and rocking to and fro, threatening to fall in an instant. There goes her mizzen-mast. Pull away, my boys. There goes the gunpowder. Thank God! Thank God! You may judge of our situation without further particulars. The alarm was given at about twenty minutes past eight, and in less than ten minutes she was in flames. There was not a soul on board at half-past eight, and in less than ten minutes afterwards she was one grand mass of fire.

'My only apprehension was the want of boats to hold the people, as there was not time to have got out the long boat or to make a raft. All we had to rely upon were two small quarter boats, which fortunately were lowered without accident; and in these two small open boats, without a drop of water or grain of food, or a rag of covering, except what we happened at the moment to have on our backs, we embarked on the ocean, thankful to God for His mercies. Poor Sophia, having been taken out of her bed, had nothing on but a wrapper, neither shoes nor stockings. The children were just as taken out of bed, whence one had been snatched after the flames had attacked it. In short, there was not time for anyone to think of more than two things: Can the ship be saved? No; let us save ourselves, then. All else was swallowed up in one grand ruin.

'To make the best of our misfortune, we availed ourselves of the light from the ship to steer a tolerably clear course towards the shore. She continued to burn till about midnight, when the saltpetre which she had on board took fire and sent up one of the most splendid and brilliant flames that ever was seen, illumining the horizon in every direction to an extent of not less than fifty miles, and casting that kind of blue light over us which is of all others most horrible. She burnt and continued to flame in this style for about an hour or two, when we lost sight of the object in a cloud of smoke. Neither Nilson nor Mr Bell, our medical friend, who had accompanied us, had saved their coats; but the tail of mine, with a

pocket-handkerchief, served to keep Sophia's feet warm, and we made breeches for the children with our neck-cloths. Rain now came on, but fortunately it was of not long continuance, and we got dry again. The night became serene and starlight. We were now certain of our course, and the men behaved manfully. They rowed incessantly, and with good heart and spirit, and never did poor mortals look out more for daylight and for land than we did. Not that our sufferings or grounds of complaint were anything to what has often befallen others, but from Sophia's delicate health, as well as my own, and the stormy nature of our coast, I felt perfectly convinced we were unable to undergo starvation and exposure to sun and weather many days, and, aware of the rapidity of the currents, I feared that we might fall to the southward of the port.

'At daylight we recognised the coast and Rat Island, which gave us great spirits; and though we found ourselves much to the southward of the port, we considered ourselves almost at home. Sophia had gone through the night better than could have been expected, and we continued to pull on with all our strength. About eight or nine we saw a ship standing to us from the Roads. They had seen the flames on shore, and sent out vessels to our relief. And here certainly came a minister of Providence in the character of a minister of the Gospel, for the first person I recognised was one of our missionaries. They gave us a bucket of water, and we took the Captain on board as a pilot. The wind, however,

was adverse, and we could not reach the shore, and took to the ship, where we got some refreshment and shelter from the sun. By this time Sophia was quite exhausted, fainting continually. About two o'clock we landed safe and sound, and no words of mine can do justice to the expressions of feeling, sympathy and kindness with which we were hailed by everyone. If any proof had been wanting that my administration had been satisfactory here, we had it unequivocally from all. There was not a dry eye, and as we drove back to our former home, loud was the cry of "God be praised!" But enough; and I will only add that we are now greatly recovered, in good spirits, and busy at work getting ready-made clothes for present use. We went to bed at three in the afternoon, and I didn't wake till six in the morning. Sophia had nearly as sound a sleep, and with the exception of a bruise or two, and a little pain in the bones from fatigue, we have nothing to complain of.

'The loss I have to regret, beyond all, is my papers and drawings—all my notes and observations, with memoirs and collections, sufficient for a full and ample history, not only of Sumatra, but of Borneo and almost every other island of note in these seas, my intended account of the establishment of Singapore, the history of my own administration, Eastern grammars, dictionaries and vocabularies, and last, not least, a grand map of Sumatra, on which I had been employed since my arrival here, and on which, for the last six months, I had employed almost my whole undivided attention. This, however, was not all.

All my collections in natural history, all my splendid collection of drawings, upwards of three thousand in number, with all the valuable papers and notes of my friends, Arnold and Jack; and, to conclude, I will merely notice that there was scarce an unknown animal, bird, beast or fish, or an interesting plant, which we had not on board: a living tapir, a new species of tiger, splendid pheasants, etc., domesticated for the voyage. We were, in short, in this respect, a perfect Noah's Ark. All, all has perished; but, thank God, our lives have been spared, and we do not repine.'

In another letter to his sister, he writes:—'Our losses have been dreadful. All our plate, that from Java, all Sophia's jewels, without exception; all our gold work; my valuable collections of all kinds, one hundred and fifty packages; all my papers, memoirs, all my beautiful drawings, in short, the cream and best of everything I had collected, learned and attained during my residence in India, all, all has gone in this sad ruin, and there is not in truth a "wreck left behind," save ourselves.' It speaks well for our hero's nature that in the same letter he is able to joke about his sister's boy. 'Instead of laced jackets, etc., poor Charley must now be content with huckaback. Where's your trousers, Charley? *My* breeches are burnt. *My* hat burnt, all burnt.' 'The morning,' Lady Raffles tells us, 'after the loss of all that he had been collecting for many years with such unwearied zeal, interest and labour, he recommenced sketching the map of Sumatra, set all his

draughtsmen to work in making new drawings of some of the most interesting specimens in natural history, despatched a number of people into the forest to collect more animals, and neither murmur nor lamentation ever escaped his lips; on the contrary, upon the ensuing Sabbath, he publicly returned thanks to Almighty God.'

In his despatch to the Court of Directors on the subject, Raffles wrote:—'The fire had its origin in the storeroom, immediately under the apartments occupied by myself and family, and was occasioned by the shameful carelessness of the steward going with a naked light to draw off brandy from a cask which took fire. . . . After a service of nearly thirty years and the exercise of supreme authority as a Governor for nearly twelve years of that period over the finest and most interesting, but perhaps the least known countries in creation, I had, as I vainly thought, closed my Indian life with benefit to my country and satisfaction to myself; carrying with me such testimonials and information as I trusted would have proved that I had not been an unprofitable or a dilatory labourer in this fruitful and extensive vineyard. . . . In the course of those measures numerous and weighty responsibilities became necessary; the European world, the Indian world (the continental part of it at least) were wholly uninformed of the nature of those countries, their character and resources. I did not hesitate to take these responsibilities, as the occasion required them, and, though from imperfect information many of my

measures in Java were at first condemned, I had the satisfaction to find them in the end not only approved but applauded far beyond my humble pretensions, and even by those who had been at first opposed to me. I need refer to no stronger case than that of the Marquis of Hastings. . . . During the last six years of my administration . . . the responsibilities which I have been compelled to take in support of the interests of my country and of my employers have been, if possible, still greater than during my former career; I allude to the struggle which I have felt it my duty to make against Dutch rapacity and power, and to the difficulties which I had to contend with in the establishment of Singapore, and the reforms which have been effected on this coast. . . .

'It was at the close of such an administration that I embarked with my family on the *Fame*, carrying with me endless volumes and papers of information on the civil and natural history of nearly every island within the Malay Archipelago. . . . I am left single and unaided without the help of one voucher to tell my story and uphold my proceedings when I appear before your Honourable Court. It has always appeared to me that the value of these countries was to be traced rather through the means of their natural history than in the dark recesses of Dutch diplomacy and intrigue; and I accordingly at all times felt disposed to give encouragement to those deserving men who devote themselves to the pursuits of science. Latterly, when political interests seemed to require that I should for a time retire from the

field, and there was little more to be done for this small settlement, I have myself devoted a considerable portion of my time to these pursuits, and in forming extensive collections in natural history; my attention has also been directed in a particular manner to the geography of the island of Sumatra.'

After an elaborate statement of the papers and collections thus lost, Sir Stamford continues:—'In a pecuniary point of view my loss has been not less extensive, as may be perceived by the annexed statement, in which I have assumed the actual cost of the principal articles which have been sacrificed.' (The sum total amounted to over £30,000.) 'Most of them are what no money can replace; such as the service of plate presented to me by the inhabitants of Java; the diamonds presented to my family by the captors of Djocjocarta; the diamond presented to me by the Princess Charlotte, on my embarkation for India, a week before her death. These and many other tokens of regard, friendship and respect, during an active and varied life, cannot ever be replaced. Money may compensate perhaps for other losses, but no insurance may or could be effected from home. It rests solely and exclusively with the Court to consider in how far my claims on account of services may be strengthened by the severity of misfortune which has latterly attached itself to my case.'

Apart from more serious consequences, the burning of the *Fame* entailed the misfortune of yet another squabble with the Company with respect to money

matters. We may dismiss the subject with one more quotation from the worthy Abdulla. 'When I heard this news I was breathless, remembering all the Malay books of ancient date collected from various countries . . . the books could not be recovered, for none of them were printed but in manuscript. They were so rare that one country might have only two of them—that is what distressed me. I further remembered his intention of composing a work on these countries, and his promise to put my name in it. All this was gone.'

The return to Bencoolen afforded to the inhabitants, both European and native, an opportunity of showing the warmth of their attachment to Sir Stamford Raffles. 'Having been thrown back on this shore most unexpectedly, we were naked and they clothed us; hungry and athirst, and they fed us; weary and exhausted, and they comforted and consoled us.'

At last, on the 8th of April, the party again embarked for Europe, and on the 10th they set sail. Lady Raffles publishes some extracts from a diary kept by Sir Stamford on the passage home. '20th April.—I this day commenced to apply to study, and devoted the early part of the morning to Euclid, and the remainder to the arrangement of my papers, etc. As far as circumstances admit, I propose to divide my time and application as follows during the voyage: Appropriating eight hours in each day to study, reading or writing, and with an intention of making up one day for any loss of time on another. . . . Before breakfast, one hour mathematics or logic, one hour Latin, Greek or Hebrew. . . . In the evening, for

one hour, reading a play of Shakespeare, or other entertaining productions. . . . As the servants are always behindhand in furnishing the meals, I may freely trust to their affording me time for dressing by such delays, which will only eventually break in on the proposed three hours' relaxation for the evening, a portion of which may well be spared, or half-an-hour may be added to the day by going to bed at half-past nine or ten, instead of nine as proposed. My object in making this memorandum is that I may hold the rule as inviolable as I can, and, by frequently recurring to it, revive my sleeping energies should I at any time be inclined to indolence. I should not, however, omit to add that all reading and study on a Sunday is to be confined to the Bible and religious subjects. The Greek and Hebrew, however, as connected, may nevertheless form a part of the study of that day.'

They arrived at St Helena on June 25, after a passage of eleven weeks, and 'encountering constant and severe gales off the Cape of Good Hope during three weeks of that period. The gale was so severe that during this period we were unable to leave our cots; the sea poured through the decks into our cabin, and the roar of the wind was such that we could not hear each other speak. Lady Raffles, though boarded up in her couch, was obliged to have ropes to hold by to prevent her knocking from one side of it to the other; the ship lay like a wreck upon the ocean at the mercy of the winds and waves, and we resigned ourselves to the feeling that our pilgrimage in this world was soon to close.'

At St Helena the news reached Raffles of the death of his mother. In the last letter addressed by him to her we note the loving forethought which caused him to erase a sentence he had written alluding to his altered appearance and his white hair for fear of causing her alarm. If ever there had been a good son, he had been one, and doubtless her death just at the moment when they seemed about to be united for the short remaining period of her life was a severe blow. The portion of the diary published contains no allusion to the event, but the following entry shows that serious things were at the time occupying Raffles's mind. 'There are some souls bright and precious, which, like gold and silver, may be subdued by the fiery trial, and yield to a new mould; but there are others, firm and solid as the diamond, which may be shivered to pieces, yet in every fragment retain their indelible character.'

On June 26 Raffles wrote to the Duchess of Somerset:—'I have neither time nor spirits to say more than that we are alive and tolerably well, and hope to reach England in August. My health and strength are entirely gone, but I trust I have got enough spirit to bear up for the voyage. . . . Pray excuse this hasty scrawl; my eyes are quite blinded with tears, and my hand is so nervous that I can scarcely hold my pen.' They arrived at Plymouth on August 22, 'in better health than could have been expected.' However 'broken-hearted and broken down in every way when *he* landed,' the natural buoyancy of his nature soon asserted itself. Already on the 24th

August we find him writing with regard to his future plans, 'I confess that I have a great desire to turn farmer, and have the vanity to think I could manage about two hundred acres as well as my neighbours. With this I suppose I shall in time become a country magistrate, an office which, of all others, I shall delight in ; and if I could eventually get a seat in Parliament, without sacrifice in principle, I shall be content to pass through my life without aiming at anything further, beyond the occupation of my spare time in promoting, as far as my humble means and talents admitted, the pursuits of knowledge and science, advancement of philanthropic and religious principles.'

Meanwhile dreams as to the future did not banish care from the present. In October he drew out a brief review of his public administration during the last twelve years. 'After the loss of all my documents and records, a paper of this kind becomes the more interesting. I hope I shall not be found to have said too much in favour of my own services and pretensions, and yet the countries in which I have been placed have been so new, untrodden, and interesting, and the situations in which I have been thrown have been so peculiar and trying, that, unless I state them myself, few will either know or understand anything about them. I feel confident that my course has been so straightforward, that the more light that may be thrown upon it the more obvious it will appear and the more creditable it will be to my character.'

In October 1824 Sir Stamford was seriously unwell

from an attack in the head and bad cold. 'Thank God,' he writes on the 23rd, 'I am better, though I am hardly able to hold my pen, and which I dare not trust except within very close limitation ; for I believe it was in consequence of using it too much upon the paper I was drawing up that I have to attribute this unfortunate relapse, which has thrown me back in point of health at least two months, and as winter is fast approaching, time is precious.' 'Time was,' he adds in November, 'when I wanted not strength to second my will ; but I am now almost shattered, and altogether unequal to one-thousandth part of all I would wish or desire to do.' Still, on the whole, things were mending. 'I have been following your kind advice,' he tells the Duchess of Somerset in December, 'idling and playing the fool with my time as much as possible. We are beginning to get a little more to rights than when you left us, but I have been only able to unpack two cases out of one hundred and seventy then in course of transport to the house.' In the preceding month he had established himself in Piccadilly. 'The house, though well situated, was by no means equal to their demands,' and they soon moved thence to a house in Lower Grosvenor Street,[1] which Sir Stamford bought from Sir Humphry Davy. In June 1825 he purchased, as a country place, Highwood, near Hendon, where his next-door neighbour was William Wilberforce. We owe to Dr Raffles an interesting account of the relations between the two men. 'Sir Stamford

[1] No. 23.

and Wilberforce were most intimate friends, and at length came to be next-door neighbours, dividing Highwood Hill, near Barnet, between them. The village at the top of the hill was also pretty equally divided between them; Sir Stamford owning one half and Wilberforce the other. Each portion had a public-house in it, and he used to laugh and say, "Wilberforce has the *Crown*, and I the *Rising Sun*." Each had an excellent house, unpretending but very convenient. My cousin's amount of land was about one hundred and twenty statute acres, yielding enough for all his purposes with a considerable amount for sale. . . . Before he (Wilberforce) came to reside at Highwood, he left the laying out of the grounds contiguous to the house to the taste of Sir Stamford. He took me in with him on one occasion to shew me what he was doing; I well remember the glee with which he said, taking me to a long mound which he had raised and planted with shrubs and flowers, "There, I have raised this mound that the little man may enjoy his daily walk, sheltered by it from the north winds, which would otherwise be too severe for him." Alas! how brief was the period allowed for the happy intercourse he thus anticipated! Wilberforce had scarcely got settled when Sir Stamford died. Wilberforce did not long survive him; and as they were, when death parted them, living beside each other, so their statues are now and will long remain side by side in close juxtaposition among the illustrious dead in Westminster Abbey.'

Sir Stamford thoroughly enjoyed the *otium cum*

dignitate of a country life. At the end of 1825 we find him applying to be placed on the Commission of the Peace. 'From the improvement in my health, and from a desire to be useful to the extent of my ability, added to the consideration that it may afford me the means of becoming *practically* acquainted with the real state of our society, and of much regarding our laws and usages which it is impossible for me to know otherwise than theoretically, I no longer hesitate.'

Meanwhile society had lost none of its attractions. Sir Stamford writes to his cousin in May 1825:—'My health, thank God, is upon the whole improved; and I am happy to say both Sophia and my little one are quite well. Necessity has compelled me to go much into society; and I am almost surprised that at this gay season of festivity I have been able to carry on the war. Seldom a day passes without an engagement for dinner, and for many weeks I have not been able to command an hour's leisure. It is true I have not attended very closely to anything, but all is so new, varied, and important in the metropolis of this great Empire, after so long an absence in the woods and wilds of the East, that, like the bee, I wander from flower to flower, and drink in delicious nutriment from the numerous intellectual and moral sources which surround me.'

Raffles was at this time much occupied in starting the Zoological Society. 'I am much interested,' he writes in March 1825, 'in establishing a grand zoological collection in the metropolis, with a society

for the introduction of living animals having the same relation to zoology as a science that the Horticultural Society does to botany. The prospectus is drawn out, and when a few copies are printed I will send some to you. We hope to have 2000 subscribers at £2 each; and it is further expected we may go beyond the Jardin des Plantes at Paris. Sir Humphry Davy and myself are the projectors; and while he looks more to the practical and immediate utility to the country gentlemen, my attention is more directed to the scientific department.' In fact, Davy's share in the work appears to have been of the slightest character, and to Raffles belongs the whole credit of establishing the Society, of which he became first President.[1]

It might have been expected that, released from the cares of office, Sir Stamford Raffles should

[1] A large amount of information with regard to the scientific side of Sir Stamford Raffles has been collected by the zeal and industry of the Rev. R. B. Raffles. Here it must suffice to say that Sir Stamford became a Fellow of the Royal Society and of the Society of Antiquaries in March 1817, and of the Linnean Society in February 1825. His most important written contribution to science was *A Descriptive Catalogue of a Zoological Collection, . . . made in the Island of Sumatra and its vicinity*; 'drawn up . . . from actual examination of the subjects, combined with the result of extensive personal inquiries among the best informed natives of the country.' This was published in Vol. XIII. of the *Transactions of the Linnean Society*. The *Zoological Journal*, Vol. III., in a description of a new animal, contains the following tribute to Raffles: 'Viri illustrissimi, in omni scientiâ præstantis, in vitâ nobis amicissimi, in morte heu! nunquam satis deflendi, hæc species memoriæ sit sacra.' Raffles's reputation in the European scientific world is attested by the fact that the great French naturalist, M. Geoffroy St. Hilaire, described a new variety of animal under the specific name of '*Rafflesii*.' A broad distinction should be drawn between Sir Stamford's scientific work at Java and at Sumatra. In the former he was mainly the patron and Mæcenas, in the latter he had more leisure and opportunity for scientific research on his own account. Sir Stamford Raffles was made LL.D. by the University of Edinburgh, June 1825.

have passed his remaining years in peace. Unhappily, however, although he had retired from the service of the East India Company, there had not been a final settlement of accounts, and on April 12, 1826, a bolt was discharged from the Leadenhall Street Olympus, which probably shortened our hero's life.[1] He had been under the impression that his case would receive favourable treatment from the Company. He had written in February 1826:—'The East India Company are now talking of taking up my case and granting me an annuity; but I fear it will be very moderate, and £500 a year is the largest amount I hear of. This, had I the means of living independent of them, I should not be inclined to accept; but necessity and consideration for my family must predominate, and I must e'en be content with what I can get. I have unfortunately been a considerable loser by the cession of Bencoolen—some thousands. My bankers have failed here, and altogether my prospects are not as comfortable as they were; but the pressure is, I hope, only temporary, and I trust it will be right again, and that I shall not be obliged to seek a tropical clime again in search of *filthy lucre*; for nothing else would, I think, tempt me to venture.'

Such being the state of things, it may be imagined with what feelings Raffles received a communication from the Company, wherein they formally demanded the reimbursement of over £22,200. This sum was mainly made up of four separate items. There was

[1] It is right to note that a previous letter from the Directors, dated February 22, had prepared the way for what followed.

first the salary for the years 1816-18, which Raffles had drawn as Resident, and afterwards as Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen, from his leaving Java, but which the Company only allowed from his actual arrival in Sumatra. This head accounted for over 66,000 rupees. A further 31,000 rupees was the difference between the amount due for salary at the time of leaving Java in paper money and in Spanish dollars. With regard to these two items, Raffles wrote:—'For these amounts, calculated with interest, and converted into sterling money by the auditor, I have requested payment may be received in Calcutta, where the funds are deposited for the purpose. However serious the repayment of so large an amount may be, I have no right to complain, as the express condition on which the sums were provisionally drawn was their being subject to the confirmation of the Honourable Court, which has been denied. It will, however, appear that, with regard to the first and most important item, viz., the arrears of salary, it could not have constituted a claim but from the circumstance of my removal from Java, and the tenor of my appointment to Bencoolen by the Earl of Minto; and as my appeal to the Honourable Court on that question, viz., my removal from Java, is still before the Honourable Court, and it remains to be decided upon how far my unfortunate recall was merited by my conduct, I trust that if it shall appear, on the general review of my administration, that such recall occurred under partial or defective information, which has been since supplied, and that subsequent inquiry has proved that such adminis-

tration was, upon the whole, sound and creditable to myself and my employers, I may still look to the Honourable Court's liberal consideration of the heavy pecuniary loss to which I was subjected on the occasion, and of which this item forms a part. . . . The other item, viz., the loss by discount on paper, being an actual abstraction from the amount of my salary as Lieutenant-Governor, will, I hope, also be considered with reference to the small amount of that salary, and to the loss being occasioned by my sudden recall at a moment no less injurious to my character than pecuniary interests, for had I remained till the transfer, I should have derived the advantage from the notes being all at par and paid off.'

Whatever claim Raffles may have had with regard to his Bencoolen salary upon the equities of the case, it will seem that upon the literal meaning of his commission the intention of the Company was justified. The words were, 'The allowances receivable by you as Resident at Fort Marlborough are to commence from the date on which you may proceed to that settlement from Java.' What is open to criticism is the system under which accounts remained open for so long a period of years.

A third item of nearly 74,000 rupees represented commissions paid to Raffles on exports to Europe from Bencoolen. The claim to such commissions had been allowed by the Bengal Government, subject to the approval of the home authorities, and the silence of the East India Company on the subject

led Raffles to suppose that the sums drawn had been approved by the Home Government. The delay in the Court's decision, he pointed out, had subjected him to a total loss of the amount by the present failure of his agents; for had the Court's definitive reply reached him at Bencoolen, the funds were then at hand awaiting their orders. Just when the order of the East India Company was received, Raffles had suffered the loss of over £16,000 from the failure of the East Indian House, which had been intrusted with the remittance of his property to England. In this state of things Raffles was obliged to ask 'the indulgence of time to enable me to raise the sum necessary. At present I have no other means of doing so but by disposing of my East India Stock, and the sale of the little property I had set apart as a provision for my family after my death.' The further sum of about 50,000 rupees claimed by the Company as extra charges at Acheen and Singapore raised considerations of a different character. 'This disbursement,' Raffles pointed out, 'was incurred and charged under the authority and consistently with the orders of the Supreme Government, and independent of the general allowances of the Resident of Bencoolen. It occurred under the following circumstances: Inconvenience had arisen from the mode in which former Residents had drawn their personal expenses, and it was, on my suggestion, directed that in future I should be allowed to draw monthly the average of the former charges on this account, reference being at the

same time had by the Supreme Government to the increased expenses, which must necessarily be incurred by me as Agent to the Governor-General, and otherwise, in moving from place to place. It was proposed by the Civil Auditors that I should be authorised to draw at the rate of Rs.5000 per month on account; but it was finally determined that the amount to be in the first instance drawn should be limited to the average expenses of Bencoolen, viz., about Rs.3700, and that any excess incurred beyond that sum should be separately drawn, and accounted for as Durbar charges. The disbursement in question, and the charge now referred to, was for such expenses incurred during the mission to Acheen and Singapore, and for the period from my quitting Calcutta till my leaving Singapore to return to Bencoolen. . . .

'On the principle adopted by former Residents I might have drawn the actual expenses on honour, without limitation as to the amount, and it was only at my request and to simplify the accounts that any change in form was made.' Among the items questioned was 'house rent at Singapore.' As Raffles pointed out, 'This charge was as necessarily incurred as every other public charge at Singapore, and I am at a loss to know on what principle it can be charged against me personally or why it is now disputed. That it should be an extraordinary charge accounts for itself, and that it was actually incurred cannot be questioned; and I know not how it was to be avoided, unless I had

paid the money out of my own pocket, which could not be expected.'

To all who care for the honour of their country—and, where the Home Government has established a Chartered Company, the legal maxim *qui facit per alium facit per se* assuredly applies—the spiteful pettiness which sought to punish the founder of Singapore for his own greatness cannot but be a cause of sorrow and shame. Compare the manner in which far less important services by military commanders, entailing heavy expense to the country, have been generously rewarded, with the grudging manner in which the out-of-pocket expenses were scanned of the statesman who, without the loss of a single life, gave to the Empire a new great centre of commerce and called a Further British India into existence in the Far East to vie with the greatness of the first.

In excuse for the East India Company it may be said that their finances at the time were by no means in a flourishing condition, that the establishments not in India proper had been always kept outside the inner ring of chartered prodigality, that the greatness of Singapore lay in the future and required a statesman's eye to recognise. Be this as it may, there is good ground for believing that this action on their part shortened Sir Stamford's life. His health had, on the whole, improved. In the spring of 1825 he had a sudden attack, and was 'inanimate for about an hour,' but he appeared to recover from this. Although it had shaken 'his confidence and nerves,' we find him

writing a year later in a more cheerful tone. At the same time he was no longer able to bear the strain of any excitement. The recent attack had been of an apoplectic nature, though at the time this had not been understood. His strength had been further reduced by whooping cough, caught from the children. At the best, worry had always made him ill. In this state of things a second attack of apoplexy found him an easy victim.

He had passed the 4th of July with his family, 'and excepting a bilious attack, under which he had laboured for some days, there was nothing in his appearance to create the least apprehension that the fatal hour was so near. Sir Stamford had retired to rest . . . between 10 and 11 o'clock . . . on the following morning at five o'clock, it being discovered that he had left his room before the time at which he generally rose, six o'clock, Lady Raffles immediately rose, and found him lying at the bottom of a flight of stairs in a state of complete insensibility. Medical aid was promptly procured, and every means resorted to to restore animation, but the vital spark had fled. The body was opened, under the direction of Sir Everard Home, the same day, who pronounced his death to have been caused by an apoplectic attack, beyond the controul of all human power. It was likewise apparent that the sufferings of the deceased must, for some time past, have been most intense.'[1] Sir Stamford Raffles thus died on July 5, 1826, on the eve of his forty-sixth birthday.

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1826.

CHAPTER XV

THE MAN AND HIS WORK

WHATEVER the shortcomings of a biography, it cannot fail, if it follows faithfully the events of his life, to give some idea of our hero's political greatness. The proof of his services to Java is found in the testimony of the Dutch themselves. When he realised that Java would not be retained, he at once set himself to devise a plan by which the equilibrium of British interests in the Far East might be maintained. When the action of the home authorities rendered his scheme impossible, he did not sit down to sulk or to despair, but from headquarters so unpromising as was Bencoolen, still busied himself in devising means by which to extricate British interests in the Far East from the choking grip of the Treaty of August 1814. The outcome of these plans was the foundation of Singapore. Nor was it by any favour of fortune that Raffles produced great results. His elaborate State papers prove him to have been as prescient in theory as he was prompt in deed. The makers of history have for the most part wrought uncon-

sciously, and the English in their greatest achievements have been generally content to work for the immediate present. It is to the honour of Raffles that he was distinguished both in the fields of thought and of action, that he bridged the chasm which divides the Wakefields from the Clives of this series.

Of the purely political side of Raffles's work we of the present generation can hardly judge. We can notice in some measure the material and moral results which have sprung from the seed sown by him. 'The crowd of splendid shipping'; 'the churches, public buildings and offices'; 'the influence of the British name' in the native states—these, in the striking words of the late Governor, Sir Frederic Weld, when unveiling our hero's statue in 1887, bear living testimony to his greatness. But though such results would have gladdened the heart of one who fought so strenuous a battle on behalf both of British commerce and of native rights, the cause for which Raffles laboured had another side. We are so accustomed to a state of things under which world power is concentrated in a few great states that we find it difficult to realise that eighty years ago little Holland claimed the monopoly of the Far East. The Dutch were, according to Raffles, 'almost the most powerful nation in India,' having 15,000 European troops and a large fleet. It is not necessary to echo every opinion of our hero with regard to the Home Government to obtain a right grasp of the situation. The British contention had been that the true Netherlands had remained

loyal to the British connection, and that the absorption by France had been a revolutionary interruption of normal relations. But if this contention was to be made out, it was necessary that the Netherlands should be propitiated in every way, and that the restored monarchy should be strong and friendly, as well as independent. Hence the colonial policy which seemed to Raffles mere moonshine and madness. In truth, the urgency of these considerations serves but to enhance the merits of our hero's work.

La haute Politique had brought about that British interests in the East were for the moment at the mercy of Holland. Nor let it be supposed that the danger was slight or imaginary. Sir Henry Maine somewhere remarks that Bentham's reputation has suffered from the very completeness of some of his reforms. To some extent Raffles has met with the same fate. We cannot notice the urgency of the situation because of the completeness of the revolution due to him. At that time the power of the Netherlands stood like a lion in the path of the open road to the Far East. Without the shedding of a single drop of blood; unsupported by ministers at home; criticised, snubbed and censured, Raffles removed the impediment, and secured to Great Britain her fair share of the Eastern trade. If ever a man had the right to say 'alone I did it,' it was he. It is not necessary to indulge in patriotic dithyrambs, but if, as cannot be denied, Dutch dominion meant monopoly, and the goal of Sir Stamford was free trade—if

Dutch dominion meant the oppression or neglect of the natives, and the goal of Sir Stamford was their improvement and gradual enfranchisement—then undoubtedly his victory was a triumph of the nineteenth century over the seventeenth, of light over darkness.

To those who, on the strength of the special circumstances of Java, would deny to Raffles the title of Free Trader, it may be enough to quote the words written in 1819 at the close of his *Minute on the Administration of the Eastern Islands*:—

'Of monopoly it may be said, as of slavery, that it is twice cursed; that its effects are not less ruinous to those who enforce it than to those who are subjected to it. . . . Commerce, like liberty, is a jealous power, and refuses her blessings to all who restrain her course.

'It can no longer be the interest or the duty of the East India Company to carry into her Indian administration that union of monopoly and coercive exaction which has so long been exploded as impolitic and unjust. . . . The time is past when the Company looked for her profits from the sale of a yard of broadcloth or a pound of nails. She now acts in a more extended sphere, and her principles have expanded with the growth of her Empire. She now looks to the wealth and enterprise of those she governs as the sure and only source of her own financial prosperity.'

The paper above quoted should be carefully considered by all who would realise how complete was

the grasp which Raffles showed of Eastern affairs. French predominance in Cochin China, the importance of Siam, the bringing influence to bear upon the Malay States by means of Residents—throughout—the paper teems with suggestions of what the future had in store.

Critics who believe that the one object of the Builders of Greater Britain has been to paint the map of the world red may note the following passage :—

'The nature of our connection is and ought to be purely commercial, and our interference politically no further extended than to secure the general interests of that commerce. . . . The extent and high value of our possessions in India renders the acquisition of further territory, particularly in new and less civilised countries, comparatively unimportant and perhaps objectionable.' Such a doctrine has been found impossible to carry out in fact, none the less it has been honestly held by many under whom the boundaries of the Empire have been steadily extended.

However great the value of Singapore in the present and in promise, Sir Stamford Raffles was far from claiming 'finality' for his work. His prescient eye saw in the future the need which created Hong-Kong. Among the advantages he claimed for Singapore was that it 'afforded facilities for hereafter establishing another factory still further East whenever it may be decreed expedient to do so.' Could Raffles return to the haunts of men he would

find the justification and the fulfilment of his life work.

A few words must be added with regard to the man. In the course of the narrative we have met the devoted son, brother, uncle, friend and philanthropist. He was the kindest of masters, the most delightful of companions. Faults, of course, he had, but they were mainly the outcome of circumstances. Compelled from his earliest years to trust to his own exertions, he occasionally betrays in his despatches a note of fretful self-sufficiency, which at first sight somewhat jars. It must be admitted that the fatal facility with which Raffles poured out voluminous despatches at the shortest notice sometimes deprives his argument of its full force. Supporters of a classical education may cherish the belief that he suffered from the loss of that training in early years, which teaches that the half is greater than the whole.

Like many other great men, he was perhaps a better master than servant, though, when once his affections were touched, as in his friendship for Lord Minto, he could be docility itself. Even as superior, he required perhaps subordinates who would yield to his commanding character, and in his relations with Mr Crawfurd the whole fault may not have been on one side. The manner in which Colonel Farquhar belied the expectations formed of him and other instances, which we meet in the course of his history, suggest the doubt whether Raffles, with his sanguine nature, was always a discerning judge of men. The modern reader will wish that, however inevitable in

the circumstances, the constant complaint about money matters could have been omitted.

Nevertheless, when all deductions have been made, the character of Raffles stands out as great morally and intellectually as it was politically. No man was ever tried more terribly by fortune and circumstances. Another Job, he might lament the loss of possessions, children and health. Scurvily treated by his superiors and subjected to snubs from lesser men, he never for an instant became soured, or lost the charming urbanity of his natural disposition. It is true that the final judgment of the East India Company (April 12, 1826) on Sir Stamford Raffles admits the value of his services. 'To him the country is chiefly indebted for the advantages which the settlement of Singapore has secured to it. The Court consider this a very strong point in Sir Stamford Raffles's favour, and are willing to give him to the full extent the benefit of their testimony respecting it.' Nevertheless, their patronising and not too cordial praise could not atone for what had gone before. Lady Raffles writes:—'It was his often expressed hope that he had experienced sufficient trial to purify his soul.' In his last days, indeed, 'his sense of enjoyment was as keen as ever, his spirit as gay, his heart as warm, his imagination still brighter, though his hopes in the world were less. He was contented with the happiness of the present moment, and only asked for its continuance,' but 'the death-blow had been struck, the silver chord was broken at the wheel.'

We have already noted our hero's love of children

and of animals. Throughout the correspondence with the Duchess of Somerset the 'dear Governor' is always sending messages to the children. The nurse who took the sole surviving child home had also in charge 'two monkeys and a bear for Seymour, and two very pretty squirrels for Anna Maria.' On his last return he mentions regretfully that of living animals he has only brought home a tiger and two tiger cats. It is pleasant to think how much innocent pleasure this distinguished child-lover has given to countless thousands of children by the foundation of 'the Zoo.' The value of his services to science was attested by contemporaries of the highest authority. More interesting to us nowadays is the light those services incidentally throw upon his general character. Dr Horsfield, his friend and assistant, described how, after the burning of the *Fame*, on his return to Bencoolen, he 'at once resumed his labours with unabated energy and ardour, and during the short period of a few weeks he succeeded in accumulating such a number of materials of an interesting nature as alone entitle him to the rank of an eminent benefactor of science.' In an eloquent address to the Zoological Club of the Linnean Society, Mr Vigers spoke of 'that comprehensiveness of mind, which embraced, as if by intuition, the entire of every subject to which it applied itself; that promptness of spirit, which executed as soon as it conceived; that total prostration of all selfish feelings, which acknowledged no interests but those of the great cause he espoused. Transcendent as were his other qualities, it is that

last perhaps to which we may refer with the deepest satisfaction.' Again, he remarks upon the 'entire devotedness with which, listening not to such timid suggestions, but making 'one great offering' of his time, his talents and energetic exertions, he laid them, with all confiding homage, before the shrine of the science he worshipped.'[1] In truth a tireless energy was the keynote of his character.

'Nature that framed us of four elements,
Warring within our breast for regiment,
Doth teach us all to have aspiring minds:
Our souls, whose faculties can comprehend
The wondrous architecture of the world,
And measure every wandering planet's course,
Still climbing after knowledge infinite,
And always moving as the restless spheres,
Wills us to wear ourselves, and never rest
Until we reach the ripest fruit of all.'

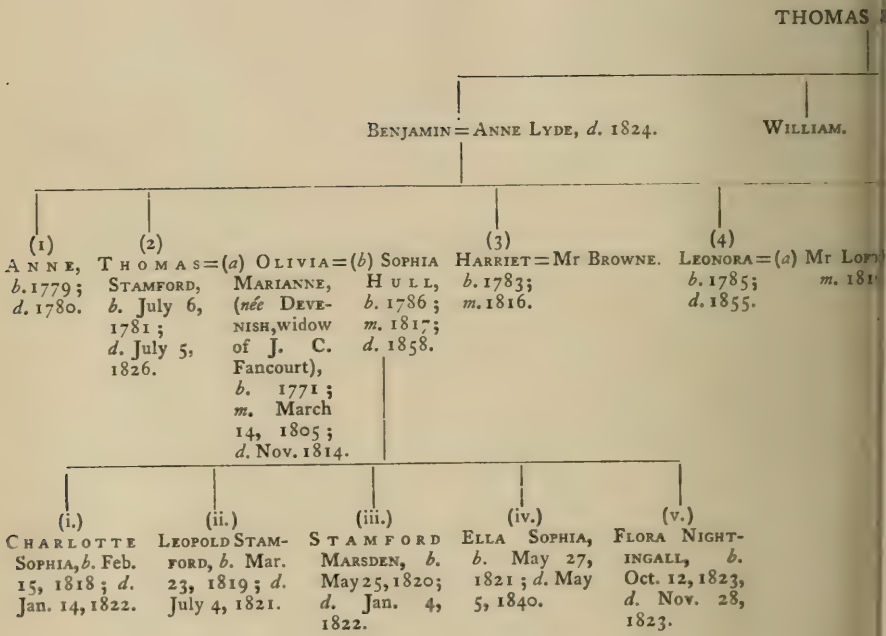
But such natures are of necessity short-lived. Young as he was in years and young in buoyancy of spirit, Raffles described himself in 1822 as 'a little old man, all yellow and shrivelled,' and his 'hair pretty well blanched.' The spirit, indeed, continued ready,

[1] In the same address Mr Vigers spoke of Raffles as 'the founder and first President' of the Zoological Society. 'With what delight have we dwelt upon the words of that great man, when, with an intelligence that in a less enlightened age might have passed for a spirit of prophecy, he portrayed, even to the minutest details, the plans and the hopes which we have since seen realised. . . . Nor was the confidence misplaced, or the sacrifice abortive. He is gone, but his spirit and energy survived; and the results appear in the great work before you.'

but the flesh was weak. And so we cannot wonder that the end came so soon. But if men live not by the length of their days, but by the work which they have accomplished, the memory of Raffles will survive so long as the Empire does honour to its builders. Of him, as of the great Roman Governor, it may be said, that he lives 'in animis hominum, in æternitate temporum, famâ rerum.'

APPENDIX I

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF SI



IX I

TAMFORD RAFFLES'S FAMILY.

LES.

JOHN.

Dr BROWN. (5) ELIZABETH, *b.* 1787, *d.* 1791. (6) BENJAMIN, *b.* and *d.* 1788. (7) MARY ANNE, *b.* 1789; *d.* 1837. = (*a*) Mr QUINTIN DICK THOMPSON, *m.* 1805; *d.* 1809. = (*b*) WILLIAM FLINT, Capt. R.N., *b.* 1781; *m.* 1811; *d.* 1829. (8) ANNE, *b.* 1793; *d.* 182—.

(i.) QUINTIN ACHESON. (ii.) CHARLOTTE RAFFLES DRURY. (iii.) STAMFORD RAFFLES CHARLES. (iv.) WILLIAM CHARLES RAFFLES, *b.* 1819; *d.* 1884. (v.) MARY SOPHIA ANNE, *b.* 1823; *d.* 1848.

APPENDIX II

APPENDIX II

INSTRUCTIONS BY SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES WITH REGARD TO THE PLANNING OUT OF SINGAPORE

Considering the present importance of Singapore, the following extracts from the instructions given by Raffles to a committee appointed on November 4, 1822, to deal with the question of the laying out of the town, are of great interest. The instructions, which have never been published, have been kindly furnished by Sir James Swettenham, K.C.M.G.

'In considering the extent of the ground necessary to be appropriated for the town generally, reference must be had not only to the numbers of the present inhabitants and the probability of their future increase, but to the nature and occupations of the several classes of which it is composed, and the demands they may respectively have to preference in regard to advantageous sites for trades, etc., and it will be a primary object to secure to the mercantile community all the facilities which the natural advantages of the port afford. At present a considerable portion of the sea and river face, which may hereafter become important for mercantile purposes, is occupied by the lower classes of Chinese, and, as might be expected, many of the early settlers have occupied positions and extent of ground which are now urgently demanded by a higher and more respectable class. A line must be drawn between the classes

engaged in mercantile speculations and those gaining their livelihood by handicraft and personal labour, the former, and particularly the principal merchants, will require the first attention, and there does not appear any reason why the latter should in any instance be allowed to occupy these situations which are likely at any time to be required by the commercial community. The cultivators form a third and interesting class, particularly of the Chinese population, but as no part of the ground intended to be occupied as the town can be spared for agricultural purposes, they will not fall under your consideration, except in as far as it may be necessary to exclude them.

'The town may already be considered to occupy an extent of the sea face from Telloh Ayer to the large inlet formed by Sandy Point of nearly three miles, and it may be presumed that if a space is reserved from thence inland in every direction of from half a mile to a mile, as the ground may admit, it will be sufficient for all the purposes required in a principal town ; a second town is gradually rising near the Salat or Malay Straits, and as soon as the road of communication is opened it may be expected that a very considerable population will collect in that quarter. . . . Along this line of sea face it will be expedient to preserve for the public all the space between the road which runs parallel to the beach and the sea, and generally it is deemed advisable, in the neighbourhood of the settlement, to reserve an open space along the beach, excepting where it may be required by individuals for special purposes. With this view the Chinese artificers who have settled on the beach near Telloh Ayer and Campong Glam will be required to remove from thence without delay. In the distribution of the ground intended to form the site of the town, you will most particularly observe that the whole of the space included

between the Singapore river and the old lines inland from the sea face to the back of the hill, including a space of 200 yards east of the old lines, is reserved for the immediate purposes of Government.' Commanding posts which might be useful for defence, as well as space for a marine yard, were also reserved. 'With these exceptions the whole of the space above pointed out may be allotted to individuals. . . . With the view of affording every possible accommodation to the trade of the port, it is proposed that in addition to the sea face to the eastward of the Cantonments, the whole of the south-west bank of the Singapore river, with the circular road round the hill between the Point and Telloh Ayer, shall be appropriated for the use of European and other merchants. . . . The necessity of draining the ground on the south-west side of the river is no less indispensable for the health of the settlement than for securing the foundations of whatever permanent buildings may be erected thereon, and it is intended to proceed on the operation with the least delay practicable. . . . To the eastward of the Cantonment, as far generally as the Sultan's, and inland to the bank of the Rochar River and the foot of the hills, including the whole of the great Rochar plain, is to be considered as set apart exclusively for European and other principal settlers.

'From the number of Chinese already settled, and the peculiar attraction of the place for that industrious race, it may be presumed that they will always form by far the largest portion of the community. The whole, therefore, of that part of the town to the south-west of the Singapore river (not excepted as above) is intended to be appropriated for their accommodation. They will be permitted to occupy the south-west bank of the river, above the intended bridge, on certain conditions; and the high road leading from the bridge to the present Chinese Campong,

as well as the banks of the small inlet to the southward of it, will offer many advantageous situations as yet unoccupied.

'. . . In establishing the Chinese Campong on a proper footing, it will be necessary to advert to the provincial and other distinctions among this peculiar people. . . . It will also be necessary to distinguish between the fixed residents and itinerants, between the resident merchants and the traders who only resort to the port for a time. . . . The object of Government being to afford the utmost accommodation to every description of traders, but more particularly to the respectable classes, you will always keep this in view. . . . Few places offer greater natural facilities for commerce than Singapore, and it is only desired that the advantage of these facilities be afforded to all who are competent to avail themselves of them.' . . .

'It being intended to place the Chinese population in a great measure under the immediate control of their own chiefs,' central and commanding sites were to be provided for their residences. The streets were to run at right angles to each other, and to be at least forty feet wide. They were to be arranged in three classes, each with its allotted number of houses. A small ground was to be placed on each site. Police stations were to be set apart in each street or division.

'The concentration of the different descriptions of artificers, such as blacksmiths, carpenters, etc., in particular quarters should also be attended to.'

Verandahs were to be attached to the houses 'of a certain depth, open at all times as a continued and covered passage on each side of the street.' Alas for the vanity of human effort! A marginal note informs us that these passages are now filled with merchandise.

'Next to the Chinese your attention will be directed to

the Bugis settlers . . . it will be equally necessary to attend to economy in the distribution of ground by laying out regular streets inland towards the river, and obliging the inhabitants to conform thereto. At present the houses are scattered without any attention to order or convenience. . . . The Arab population will require every consideration, and their expected numbers should be at not less than 1000 to 2000. No situation will be more appropriate to them than the vicinity of the Sultan's residence. . . . It being intended to appropriate the space between Sandy and Deep Water as a marine yard, permission will be given to Chinese artificers to settle in the vicinity of the public works on certain conditions. . . .

'The beach from the extremity of the European town will still continue open for the repairs and building of native vessels as at present, and it is proposed that hereafter a public pier should be thrown out in this quarter in the most convenient spot for trade. . . .

'The Malay population being principally attached to the Toomongong, or engaged in fishing, may not require any very extensive allotments. It is probable the larger portion of the former will settle near Panglima Prangs and the upper banks of the river, and that the latter will find accommodation for themselves in the smaller bays and inlets beyond the immediate line of beach reserved for the town. . . .

'As a measure of police it is proposed to remove the fish market to Telloh Ayer without delay, and it will be the duty of the committee to consider how far the general concentration of the fish, pork, poultry and vegetable markets in the vicinity of each other may not be advantageous for the general convenience and cleanliness of the place.

'The importance of early provision for Mahommedan

and Chinese burial grounds, particularly the latter, at a suitable distance from town, will necessarily fall under your consideration.'

The committee were to explain to the leading native the object of their appointment, 'and the desire of Government in associating them with you that the interests of all shall be duly considered in the arrangements adopted.'

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